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ITALY

AND

THE ITALIANS.

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BY

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"ENGLAND IN 1835," ILLUSTRATIONS OF HISTORY," &c.

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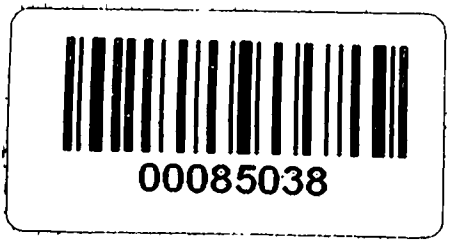

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LETTERS FROM ITALY.

LETTER LX.

Florence—Environs—Italian Theatre—Libraries.

Florence, June 7th.

LET every-day matter (what is worse?) succeed the reveries of the uninformed. If possible, I take a daily walk in the beautiful environs. Thus, one afternoon, I visited the Cascines. The woods and meadows were most exquisitely illumined by the sun-bright evening; about midnight a shower of rain fell on the cultivated hills; and towards morning Florence, with its domes and towers, was sharply defined upon a ground of black clouds. The whole scene was as diversified as beautiful. Another time to Poggio imperiale, a residence of the grand-duke's, ascending through dark cypresses to cheer-

ful heights and orange gardens. A third time to Bello guardo, where, beyond a verdant slope, covered with vines and olive-trees, all Florence lies spread out before the eye; the plain towards Pistoja opens on the left; and, on the opposite side, Fiesole, with its ancient churches and buildings, crowns the chain of hills. A fourth time to St. Miniato, distinguished by the like beautiful views.

It is, of course, become warmer than it was, but as yet the heat is not oppressive, and it is not advisable to change the warmer for lighter clothing, as the mornings and evenings do not show a higher temperature than 11 to 13 degrees (56° to 60° Fahrenheit).

Through Count Waldburg-Truchsess, I received a French letter from Turin, in which Count Cosilla informs me, that his Majesty the King has presented me with a copy of the *Storia Metallica* of his kingdom. In my answer to the Count, (likewise in French,) I have returned thanks for this unexpected favour, touched upon some literary points, and said, among other things, "J'ai parcouru differens pays de l'Europe, mais la reception que j'ai trouvé à Turin, le nombre de personnes d'esprit, de talens, et de science, qui ont bien voulu m'instruire, l'énergie du caractère qui m'a paru plus grande que dans quelques autres pays de l'Italie, les progrès de la monarchie sarde, princi-

palement de la Sardaigne elle-même, un Roi qui tache de réaliser un juste-milieu *positif*—tout cela a rendu mon séjour à Turin extrêmement utile et agréable, et s'est imprimé dans mon cœur et ma memoire pour toute la vie."

Do not criticise my French, but take notice that all I here say is perfectly true, only that at this passage some little doubt arose whether Charles Albert may not listen too readily to clerical and particularly Jesuistical counsels. On this point I refer to my former reports.

Of the theatre there is still but little to say. The wretched operas and comedies have no attraction for me; and such talent as Erminia Gherardi's I have not since met with. But I should certainly go more frequently to the play, if it commenced earlier than half-past eight. As it is, I cannot sacrifice either my night's rest or my hours for work in the morning.

Among the laws here for the theatres, I shall quote but one, to this effect:—All that is publicly promised (new decorations, rich dresses, a numerous company, military band) must be performed, as the public cannot be allowed to be cheated and deceived.

The sketches of my oft-mentioned and esteemed friend, Czörnig, contain very interesting information concerning the Italian theatre. I extract from

them what follows:—The Italian theatre is considered not merely as a treat of art, but rather almost as a social amusement, cheaper, more convenient, more diversified, more intellectual, than French *soirées* and English routs. It must, moreover, be taken into account, that one neither can nor desires to see finished works of art only from year's end to year's end; but people put up with such as are of inferior merit, and chat till something worthy of notice bursts forth from the mass of mediocrity. Hence, further, the frequent change of companies, the brief engagements of the artists, the necessity for the manager of beginning everything anew in every town and for every year. The opera-texts are almost, without exception, wretched, and cut out after one pattern, in order to comply with the obstinate demands of individual singers. Notwithstanding the fondness for the opera, most managers and their companies are ruined, unless they are supported by the government. Thus the Scala receives annually 240,000 francs; which allowance, however, is loudly complained of by the other cities of Lombardy. In the year 1832, there were, in Upper and Central Italy, (without Naples and Sicily,) 71 theatres; 18 for opera and ballet, 33 for the opera, 1 for the opera and plays, 1 for plays and the ballet, 17 for plays, 1 for plays and rope-dancing. In Florence only, there appeared a

preponderance in favour of the drama. For the year 1838, 20 new operas were composed, and of these scarcely one outlived the second summer. Donizetti wrote 60 operas: Glück, Mozart, and Spontini knew (as Voltaire says), "que ce n'ést pas avec un si grand paquetage qu'on va à l'éternité."—I feel strongly disposed to fall foul, in my *uninformed* way, of this musical and dramatic system; and, therefore, break off here, till I have got and paid for a fresh stamped sheet for exercising that prerogative upon.

Though the inspection of libraries is in general a wearisome affair, it is nevertheless one of the duties of a travelling man of letters to pay his respects to the craft. For my part, this always puts me into an idle discontented mood, as though, because it is, alas! impossible to read all books, it were not worth while to write any.

From the prevalence of pig-skin binding in some of the libraries of Florence, we may perceive that they do not keep pace with the spirit of the times. Very different is the case with the grand-ducal library in the Pitti palace. Though not founded before the year 1815, an astonishing number of the finest editions of ancient and modern classics, as well as works on natural history and the arts, have been procured for it, chiefly through the predilection of the Archduke Ferdinand. Nor is there any want

of manuscripts, (for instance, by Lorenzo di Medici, Tasso, Galilei,) which are still partly unexplored and unpublished: work enough for a man, who (like ——) wishes to throw new light on the history of Florence.

Perhaps it would be advisable, for the sake of general utility, and on account of the urgent necessity for increasing the libraries of Florence, to unite them into one great collection, and to sell the duplicates. It would certainly be serviceable to make an arrangement every year concerning the expenditure of the yet very inadequate funds, and to allot a particular department to each library. As a very rare exception indeed, books are lent to literary men, but never to students; and this regulation is of so much the worse effect, since the lectures at the university and the hours for reading at the library mostly happen to be the same.

LETTER LXI.

Florence—Pictures.

Florence, June 8th.

Because I cannot make up my mind to repeat what has been said a thousand times concerning individual statues and paintings, and because I can as little suppress all my thoughts and feelings on

those subjects, I set aside the greater part of them, and take leave to give free scope to my uninformed heresies in regard to some few. I had nearly done so yesterday, when a couple of Englishmen had a great deal to say about the Medicean Venus, and some others were extolling to the skies the pictures of Carlo Dolce. Not one copyist, but two, and even three, are seated before each of these pictures, probably executing English commissions. In spite of Tieck's Zerbino, what useless journeys are still undertaken to the land of good taste!

LETTER LXII.

Florence—The Pitti Palace.

Florence, June 10th.

Would that, by the dry detail of daily life, I could set before your eyes the splendour and the colours of these scenes of nature and art, as I go from the Boboli garden to the Pitti palace, always visit afresh the Cascines for the sake of their cheerful impression, and yesterday enjoyed, perhaps, the very finest view over the surrounding country, at the castle of Belvedere above Boboli. Eminences and chains of hills of the most diversified kind, the Arno and its bridges most beautifully illumined, the

whole city outstretched at one's feet, and the gay white houses contrasting in a peculiar manner with the dark and bright green of the sea. And yet admirers of Rome will soon pretend to prove that the desert Campagna is more beautiful than Florence and Naples! Amidst such a nature and art, the living Florentines can scarcely keep themselves *à la hauteur* and at par.

LETTER LXIII.

Florence, June 11th.

REFLEXIONS ON ART, BY ONE OF THE UNINFORMED.

SECOND CONTINUATION.

NIOBE.

THE greatest tragedy that was ever represented by art. A simple idea, a simple feeling, a sublime accord; but broken and modulated through all the shades and gradations of alarm, fear, grief, resignation, mortal agony, and death. A sublime, wonderful, profound conception, which, precisely for that reason, is most deeply moving and affecting; whereas, Laocoon produces scarcely any other effect than shocking me, and leading away to considerations on the art displayed in this work of art,

which always are, and must be, of a subordinate kind.

If Niobe was proud of her seven noble sons and her seven beautiful daughters, it was a natural, maternal pride, a pride at any rate of a more dignified kind than the mistress-pride of her sister Latona. Apollo is not complete god, but only a demi-god, because he too was filled with his mother's envy, and his power was not elevated and glorified by clemency, love, bounty. The Jewish Jehovah also shews himself as a jealous God, but he saved Isaac; while Apollo is here no more than the slayer, the destroyer, the Hellenic Sheeva. Hence Niobe has had justice done her, through all ages, in the inmost feelings as in outward representation.—She is the conqueress of death, risen with her children, and surrounded by sympathising friends. — Through this deed alone Apollo lost his dominion; Niobe and her children overthrew paganism in their fall, and were precursors of other times and of another revelation.

ALFIERI.

What one wants one is glad to acquire, and still more to get as a gift, without, as the proverb says, examining the mouth of the given horse too closely. The article tragedy was supplied in the literary history of Italy by certain substitutes only: Alfieri appeared and offered genuine goods, surpassing the

manufacture of Hellas and Co. Is it surprising that all seized it with joy, and not only cut out the stuff to the measure of their bodies, but crept into the coat when made, or threw it over their shoulders and advanced in buskin-step against other dramatic tailors and clothiers. Our Alfieri, cry the Italians, as though afraid to say in the plural, as some other nations do, Our Alfieris. But then is Alfieri a native Italian plant, indigenous to the soil and climate? I am well aware that he was born in Italy and wrote Italian; but to me he appears to be an entirely foreign production, an exotic plant, which is tended and nursed, and is by no means thoroughly Italian, like Dante and Macchiaveli. When I made these, or similar observations to the Marchese M—, he replied that Alfieri was popular, that his tragedies drew crowded houses, and even the country people were moved to tears by them. Abbate B—, on the contrary, denied the popularity and the numerous attendance, and moreover dried the tears of the country-people. It is not my province *tantas componere lites.* The second assertion, however, appeared to me more favourable for the Italians than the first; for it would tend to prove that rhetorical hothouse tragedies are but little relished by unsophisticated tastes, and that the admiration of them is confined to the circle of æsthetising literati.

When I stated as a fact, without entering into the worth or worthlessness of the opinion, that the other great poets of Italy were known and esteemed in Germany, that Goldoni was frequently represented, and even Gozzi found acceptance, but Alfieri no where excited admiration or even interest —this fact of course served for a proof of the continuance of northern barbarism, and ——— insisted that in six hundred years the world will discover that Alfieri is as great a poet as Dante. What I thought on this subject I said at another time to B——, and he agreed with me that Alfieri was no poet, but only a rhetorician, who would fain have screwed himself up to a poet. At length, —— and his wife admitted that Alfieri certainly was deficient in *movimento* (which I, in further discussing the subject, called the *dramatic*); but asserted that the sublimity of the language and sentiments, and the profundity of his works, much more than compensated for that deficiency.

As the admirers of Alfieri find the sublime (and as an accessory and supplement, the dramatic) in his dry harsh rhetoric, so the admirers of the feeble Marini conceived a hundred and fifty years ago that through him beauty of very high degree was born again and revealed. The first superstition will pass away as the second has done.

There are distinguished writers whom it is ex-

tremely difficult for foreigners to understand, and out of courtesy one might class Alfieri among them. But how is it that among us the much more difficult Dante is understood?—and have not the Germans every where shown industry and versatility in penetrating into what is most heterogeneous, even the Indian and Chinese? If our cultivation in this point might be called too universal and extended, the reverse is seen among the Italians. Whenever a German youth, after his school years are over, turns away from Greek, there is still a feeling for measure and beauty left behind, and the knowledge of modern languages is added as a make-weight. Most young Italians learn neither German nor English; either there are no translations, or they afford totally inadequate conceptions of the poetical works of foreigners. Italy has already sustained great injury from thus shutting herself up in false self-conceit; and this seclusion will daily operate more and more prejudicially, unless more serious and persevering attention be paid to the hitherto slighted European productions of mind.

LETTER LXIV.

Florence—Bartolini—Cucumero Theatre—Becchi.

Florence, June 12th.

NOTWITHSTANDING that *happy* longing after home (for a traveller without home is a sort of wan-

dering Jew) my assertion concerning the richness and the diversity of Italy is more and more confirmed, as you must have collected from my letters; though they are chiefly occupied with a single side, and leave so much else wholly untouched. If Florence is less remarkable for that side than north Italy, nature and art afford double enjoyment, and cause me to forget that I have not yet been shown the estimates of the city. It would be still worse if the Medicean Venus had been as mysterious as the privy-councillors.

Not a day passes but I see something of art or nature. On the 9th, in the forenoon, I went, for example, with Becchi to Boboli; which garden successfully strives to unite nature and art. Thence a second time to Bartolini, the sculptor, to feast my eyes upon a series of exquisite works: Juno, the monuments of Demidof and Alberti, Hector and Andromache, and other beautiful female figures. A large Napoleon is waiting unfinished for a purchaser.

On the evening of the 10th, I saw Scribe's *Mariage de raison* performed tolerably well by a French company at the Cucumero theatre. The audience shewed its taste in understanding and applauding French. Yesterday I had my choice between the theatre and a *soirée* at the house of

——. To do injustice to neither company, and to avoid giving a preference to either treat, I renounced both, and after a hot day, walked in the fine evening along the Arno.

Not a day passes but I converse with some Italian or other, and learn something from him, as I have done with Capponi, Fossombroni, Nicolini, Ricci, and others. With great kindness and sacrifice of his time, M. Becchi, librarian of the Riccardiana, and secretary of the Accademia della Crusca, pays me particular attention. He introduced me to the president Puccini, accompanied me to Belloguardo and Belvedere, and is going with me this evening to Fiesole.

LETTER LXV.

Florence—Amici—Physical Cabinet—Fiesole.

Florence, June 13th.

Yesterday Cavaliere Medici took me to Antinori, the director of the physical cabinet, which possesses not exactly what is the most modern and most perfect of every kind; but it is important for the history of science and the manufacture of instruments. Thus the instruments employed by Galilei, Torricelli, Fontana, Volta, remain valuable

and authentic relics. Beasts, birds, fishes, minerals—of all these a beginning, a groundwork. Flowers of wax, admirably executed, but perishable. The anatomical cabinet, likewise of wax, an object of the admiration of all connoisseurs.

Professor Amici showed us the extraordinary power of his microscope, and of a telescope made by him. He denied the circulation of the sap in plants, which our S— pretends to have demonstrated, particularly in the chelidonium. The movement does not take place, he says, through internal force, but is the effect of warmth operating from without. In like manner, he declared himself against the attempt of certain German botanists, who transform all vegetable males into females, or (by an inverse emancipation) assign to the former the functions of the latter. The minute explanation of this subject, addressed by him to a young marchese, (translated into animal language,) would furnish a complete catechism of midwifery. Zelter's saying, "You know not what I can go through," involuntarily occurred to me on this occasion.

In the evening I rode with the Abbate Becchi (that inexpressibly attentive friend) to Fiesole. A series of the most delightful prospects, where not interrupted by the confounded walls, with all the plains, hills, and mountains that have been so frequently mentioned. The terrestrial sea, tinted with

every shade of green, intersected by the silver stripe of the Arno. About Florence and its gigantic dome (that central point of the landscape,) numberless white, glistening houses, casinos and villas, every where sprinkled. A most serene, cloudless sky, painted at sunset with all colours; and over hill and dale was shed at the same time that magic mist which at once poetically envelops and beautifies every thing in a veil varying from dark blue to celestial rosy red. By the road side, cheerily ascending and descending, with friendly greetings, the damsels of Fiesole, to whom I dare not refuse the testimony of beauty, as I can to many Italian females.

LETTER LXVI.

Tuscany—Leopold's Legislation—Agriculture—Halflings.

Florence, June 8th.

The house of Austria is in general represented as having an inordinate inclination to keep things just as they are, nay to stand stock-still, or even to go backward instead of forward. And yet the very reverse of all this might be proved. The great changes which the world hailed with such loud applause when they made their appearance among our western neighbours had been set on foot much earlier in all the main points by Austrian sovereigns,

with the rejection only of the absolutely violent and extravagant. To say nothing of Joseph II. (whom many censure for that which they admire in others,) I have already shown how much that was great and praiseworthy Maria Theresa did for Lombardy; and in the very same spirit her son Peter Leopold acted in regard to Tuscany from 1765 to 1790.

More than twenty years before the commencement of the French revolution, he abolished the ancient regulations relative to treasures and mines, limited the right of hunting, suppressed the guilds, as well as most of the exemptions from taxes and feudal abuses, permitted the free cultivation of tobacco, and put an end to the forced grinding of corn and olives. Useless orders from the authorities (for example, when the vintage was to begin, how the land should be cropped, and so forth,) ceased. There was no further question about fixing the prices of grain and bread, and a free trade in corn in the interior, and (without any protecting duty) with foreign countries, took the place (that is to say when there was no dearth) of complicated and ever-varying regulations; and experience has verified the policy of this system up to the present day. In like manner discontent at the excessive restraints imposed upon the use of the woods caused them to be thrown open to all. This, however, though

attended with much benefit, led to abuses, and the hills were stripped, because the cupidity of man, though it cannot take away future corn crops beforehand, can destroy woods and forests for centuries to come. A milder criminal code took the place of rigorous laws, a new municipal regulation that of unsatisfactory provisions. Attention was paid to schools, universities, and archives, and long before Necker's time a public account of the income and expenditure of the state was rendered. The Church was obliged to confine herself to her own sphere, acquisitions in mortmain were restricted, and a series of important laws relative to landed property enacted. They aimed principally at diminishing the insecurity of possession for a term, or at least procuring for the possessor for a term a share in the improvements of the soil. In the first place, all the lands of the crown and of corporations were to be converted, as far as possible, into property of the tenants, and the quit-rent to assume a fixed character; but all without infringing the rights and income of the original proprietors, as the same thing has been attempted and accomplished in the Prussian dominions. The redemption of fixed taxes was allowed without being compulsorily prescribed.

In short, Tuscany had—without pretending to deny partial mistakes and imperfections—completed

her revolution in a mild peaceable way before that of France commenced, and took but little pleasure in the innovations which the envoys of so-called liberty forced upon her. The French commissaries therefore declared to the inhabitants, "Ye who throw down the trees of liberty, proclaim, in so doing, that ye will remain slaves for ever. Reason does not exist for you, and ye are unworthy to enjoy the rights of man."

After the fall of Napoleon, the French code, and many regulations (oppressive more especially for the proprietors in chief) were abolished; other things, however, as being useful and judicious, were retained, as, for instance, regulations respecting trusts, municipal laws which no longer appeared adapted to the times, commercial law, &c.

Great as were the changes made by Leopold's legislation in the domains, in feudal and ecclesiastical property, and in regard to the disposal of landed property, they scarcely affected the state of the mezzajuoli, halflings, tenants who cultivate lands on condition of sharing the produce with the landlords. Panegyrists, keeping the state of Tuscany more especially in view, assert that, of all the predicaments in which a farmer can be placed, this is best for forming the head and heart, for teaching temperance, and for giving a property that cannot be misused. The mezzajuolo has no taxes to pay,

knows no cares. He has no trouble with buying and selling, with men-servants and women-servants; he has no expenses, needs no capital, finds everywhere an adequate return for his labour, is co-proprietor without inconvenience, and content without passion and irritation. Between him and his landlord there subsists a paternal, a human relation, a relation of real community, such as the feudal system perhaps aimed at but never attained.

If we consider and compare the Tuscan and Milanese co-partner, their clothing, habitation, fare, their appearance and their behaviour, there is no doubt that those light points are more conspicuous in the former than in the latter. But here there is no absolute exemption from shadow. In the first place, many landlords assert that in Tuscany they are placed in too unfavourable and the farmers in too favourable a situation; that they had too liberally lent a hand to expensive improvements, the produce of which went chiefly into the pockets of the latter; that the debts of the farmers commonly fell upon them, and that they very often maintained themselves longer in undisturbed possession than the impoverishing landlords; that finally, they were not to be diverted by any remonstrances from their vicious system of management, and by their negative obstinacy tired out the most patient.

Others again remark that the disposition of igno-

rant landlords to interfere in the system of management can but operate detrimentally, and their declining circumstances arise from other causes than the too favourable position of the farmer. The very precarious nature of the crop, (especially grapes and olives,) it is easier for the landlord to get over than the tenant, and the latter scarcely ever has opportunity to lay by any thing. Nay, such an acquisition of capital would act detrimentally in driving him out of his condition, as no other way presents itself to him for thriving within his natural circle. Thus, then, he lives on from year to year, making no provision for the future, and though custom leaves him in general in possession, still there are not wanting instances of his burdens being increased, and of the exercise of the right of turning him out without assigning a reason. If, moreover, the landlord is sometimes saddled with debts of the tenants, this is an argument against the whole system; since either necessity obliged him to contract debts, or the landlord cannot keep a sufficiently vigilant eye upon the idle and the disorderly.

In order to remedy several of these inconveniences, it has been proposed, instead of the merely verbal agreement for a year almost universally customary, to substitute written contracts. To this it has been objected: the usage is clear, certain, and well known. Amidst the infinite diversity of cir-

cumstances, a fixed form of agreement would either be too particular, and therefore unsuitable, or it must be confined to generals, and consequently of no use. The genuine foundation of this compact, mutual confidence, must suffer from the introduction of written agreements; mistrust would take its place, and the tenant, unable to write or read, would at last have the worst of it, and be subjected to harder conditions. If defects exist, they lie not in the forms but in the persons and in other causes.

When I consider all that I have heard and read in praise and censure of the system of the *mezzadria*, the following appears to be the result.

Firstly—In certain states of society it is a natural condition; but it affords no general rule for all countries and all times.

Secondly—The well-being or discomfort of landlords and tenants depends less on the main condition of a division of the produce, than upon other minor conditions, circumstances, and customs.

Thirdly—The *mezzadria* invariably secures, by the division in kind, against extreme poverty; but, on the other hand, it prevents advancement, and keeps persons in the same state of mediocrity. Hence the country people say, *Chi e nato povero sarà sempre povero*—whoever is born poor will always be poor. So long as another proverb is generally recognized, on account of its truth—*Tante*

mute, tante cadute—every change of tenants is a loss—the worst degeneracy is avoided. But if, from the increase of population and the increased offers of tenants, a mischievous disposition to augment their burdens should seize the landlords, then, in place of the humane, the paternal, the joint interest, there will succeed a frightful tyranny, an execrable monopoly of private property, the impoverishment and degeneracy of whole nations. From this state of Ireland, Tuscany, thank God, is far removed; and whoever is acquainted with the Irish principle of letting for money, must admit that the abolition of the *mezzadria* and the adoption of that money-letting system would be a retrograde step for Tuscany, and the adoption of the joint crop system a great advance for Ireland. As, however, many Italian writers know nothing of Germany, they treat this subject as though there were no other and better system than those two. Of this more hereafter.

How is it, then, that individuals assert that not only do the landlords wish for a fixed rent instead of the division in kind, but also that the tenants wish to become farmers? So that it is rather poverty, convenience, and ignorance, than any other reasons, which deter from a modification of the system. On this subject I shall quote some passages from the instructive *Giornale agrario*. Retrench-

ment of expence on the part of the higher classes, says M. Landucci,* and activity on the part of individuals, afford the only means of retrieving deranged circumstances. Then property will no longer be managed and possessed by distant and embarrassed proprietors, who think of nothing but how to obtain the highest possible income for the moment, regardless what mischief and diminished produce may ensue in future.

The minute attention of small proprietors, it is said in another place,† gives to every country a great number of useful and productive economical establishments, and is attended with the improved cultivation of large tracts of land. For the benefit of agriculture (says M. Bonarotti, v. 108, and to the same effect M. Landucci, vii. 379,) and for the advantage of intelligent proprietors, I should like to associate myself with those who prefer letting for long terms, and still more would I recommend the fixed rent.

Without, then, shutting the eyes to the fair side of the Tuscan *mezzadria*, or wishing for a sudden change; without ever recommending a violent one; all these remarks nevertheless point to the possibility of, and even a disposition to, modifications. But if it is not wished that this should occasion greater loss than gain, the *mezzadria* must not, as

* Vol x. p. 163. † Vol. vii. p. 256.

M. Ricci justly maintains, be exchanged for an Irish or even an English system of letting for a term.* In this course there are steps which cannot be avoided, and on each the country people are fain to linger, so long as the possible evils and abuses are not converted into real. Then the tenant accepted for a year will have recourse to tenure for a term, the tenant for a term to the hereditary tenure or the hereditary rent, and lastly the hereditary farmer to absolutely free property.

With increasing consciousness of their own worth, all are thronging towards this last and highest step, which leads more than any other to the corporeal and intellectual development of man, reconciles being and having with one another, and becomes the richest source of the noblest love of country.

But, with the acquisition or the renting of property, every thing is not accomplished and placed on one and the same permanently prosperous footing; on the other hand, the new state has also its new and peculiar dangers. To wish to return on account of these to the no-property system, would be preferring slavery to liberty, because the latter also generates abuses. For the family right and hereditary right of the proprietors, for the rights of the first born, and those born afterwards, for the union and division of estates, various regulations

* Vol. vii. p. 302.

may be framed according to circumstances, without attempting to interfere in every thing. Two dangers in particular must not be overlooked: the first, an immoderate division of landed property in populous countries; and secondly, the buying up of small landed properties, by which one would be thrown back again to the beginning.

But enough for to-day, though the subject is by no means exhausted. Thus we might inquire, for instance, whether the living in close villages as in Germany, or in scattered dwellings like the Italian husbandmen, deserves the preference? whether the precarious culture of the vine and olive does not particularly require long leases? whether the English manufacturing population would not be great gainers if they could be metamorphosed into *half-lings*, or if the system of the *mezzadria* could be applied to them?

LETTER LXVII.

Tuscany—Cadastre—Land-Tax—Municipal Institutions.

Florence, June 9th.

To the statements given in my last letter may be appropriately appended some particulars concerning the Florentine *cadastre*. The defects of the former one led, on the 8th of January, 1818, to the order

for preparing a new one; and, after the persons charged with this commission had minutely informed themselves of the mode of proceeding observed in other countries, and laid down general principles, they commenced their operations. In 1828 the measurements were finished, in 1829 the maps, in 1830 the valuation, and in 1834 the new and more equitable divison of the old tax. There was found to be a superficial extent of 6,389,000 *quadrati*, of 10,000 Tuscan fathoms each, about a French *arpent;* of these 209,000, (in roads, rivers, &c.) were not taxable; so that there remained 6,180,000 liable to tax, which formed 2,276,000 separate pieces *(appezzamenti)*.

The year 1818 and the lowest average prices were taken as the groundwork for calculating the produce, and any objections which the tax-payers had to make were listened to. It was on the net income only that the tax was to be levied. The expences of the land-owners for rivers, dams, and the like, were very properly deducted, for they amount annually to four million and a half lire; and regard was likewise paid to the heavy rates with which landed property is burdened on the part of the communes. As, namely, the land-tax constitutes by far the greater portion of the income of the communes, and must cover the most considerable part of the expenditure, it amounts to from

$1\frac{82}{100}$ lire to $20\frac{22}{100}$, or on an average $9\frac{11}{100}$ lire per cent., or more than the government levies for its necessities.

The taxable rent (which, from the mode of valuation, is far below the actual produce) amounts to 44,339,000 lire, of which 13,232,000 arise from houses and manufactories. A *quadrate* yields a produce of $7\frac{18}{100}$ lire, and the landed property of each person (a patrimony) about 299 lire.

The following table furnishes information concerning the division and produce of landed property.

	Net Income.	Number of Proprietors.	Total Income.
Between	1 & 100 lire.	87,917	2,622,000 lire.
Up to	500	31,467	7,115,000
	1,000	7,025	4,945,000
	2,000	3,834	5,381,000
	3,000	1,331	2,228,000
	4,000	663	2,256,000
	5,000	392	1,819,000
	10,000	754	5,238,000
	15,000	222	2,735,000
	20,000	85	1,472,000
	30,000	84	2,063,000
	40,000	29	988,000
	50,000	22	972,000
	100,000	21	1,411,000
Above	100,000	10	2,283,000

Among the greater landed proprietors, the state, or the reigning family, is by far the highest, though I observe the foundling hospital set down as deriving a net income from land of 191,000 lire.

Respecting the share of the different branches of the clergy, I have been furnished with the following:—

Simple benefices *(benefizi semplici)* derive from landed property a net income of	429,000 lire.
Canonicates and benefices binding to residence	327,000
Fraternities	14,000
Convents of Monks	542,000
——— Nuns	594,000
Bishops	301,000
Churches	46,000
Parsonages	1,144,000
Charitable Institutions	391,000
Total, (including the hundreds)	3,790,000

If the domains be added, there is about one eighth part of the landed property immoveable in the same hands.

The subjoined table shows how the land is employed, the space occupied by each branch of agriculture, and the net rent.

	Quadrati.	Produce.	Net Rent per Quadrate.
Vine	644,000	12,239 M lire	19 lire.
Vine & Olive	462,000	7,195	15,57
Arable Land	997,000	4,622	4,63
Wood of all kinds	1,661,000	2,971	1,79
Chestnuts ...	361,000	1,144	3,17
Natural & artificial Meadows	79,000	865	10,83
Pasture	1,870,000	1,462	0,78
Various Productions ...	73,000	604	
Buildings *(fabbricati)*	28,000	13,232	
Total in round Numbers	6,180,000	44,339,000, or about ten million dollars.	

This table shows in an instructive manner, not only the space occupied by each branch of agriculture, but also its productiveness, and accounts for the disposition to extend the one and contract others, for instance, to turn woodland and pasture to other purposes.

The preparation of the new *cadastre* cost $1\frac{17}{100}$ lire per *quadrate* in the state of the church, $1\frac{12}{100}$ in France, and $1\frac{3}{100}$ in Tuscany.

The state will annually levy as before a net revenue of about 3,150,000 lire, or 7 lire in 100.

I now come to another subject. It is a remarkable phenomenon, that the cities and communes which were once so omnipotent in Italy have gradually lost almost all their rights, and become subject to a nearly arbitrary superior direction. Sensible of this defect, the Archduke Leopold says, in his new municipal regulation of the 26th of May, 1774, that he hopes a more intimate acquaintance with their wants, as well as the right of examining the receipts and the expenditure of the communes, of assessing the taxes, and of giving their consent in all matters, will awaken and strengthen the zeal of the citizens for the general welfare. By virtue of this law, amended in 1816, every one is inserted in the register of citizens who possesses landed property, and pays annually a certain amount of taxes. The clergy, institutions, the treasury, &c. also possess the like right, and upon occasion appoint a representative to exercise it. In every town there are a gonfaloniere, or burgomaster, several priors or municipal councillors, and a greater council. The number of the members of the latter, as well as that of the priors, differs, and is not governed by any general principle. Thus we find in

Florence .	11	priors and	20	councillors
Prato . .	8	„	16	„

Pistoja	7	priors and	12	councillors
Arezzo	7	„	16	„
Fiesole	2	„	5	„
St. Casciano	5	„	20	„

The gonfaloniere is appointed by the grand-duke for three years, from among the citizens and on the proposal of the superior authorities. Half of the priors and all the councillors are changed annually. The mode of their election is this: the names of all the citizens written on tickets are put into a bag, from which two tickets are drawn for every office that is to be filled. Any person engaged in petty traffic may be set aside by the magistracy; and, finally, the *proveditore del camere* always selects from the two which he pleases. The gonfaloniere, priors, and councillors receive no salary, excepting the produce of certain rates. Whoever refuses to take the office pays a fine of from 50 to 100 lire. The clergy and officers of government are exempt: convents and Jews appoint a deputy. The administrative functions are in the hands of the gonfaloniere and the priors; but in many cases they are obliged to obtain the assent of the government. On quitting office, a year must elapse before a person can again be gonfaloniere or prior, and three years before a member of the council can be re-elected. Every municipal officer must be at least thirty years old, and at least two-thirds

of them must be present at every meeting for the despatch of business. The great council has no continuous functions, nor any permanent superintendence over receipts and expenditure; but is only heard on occasion of innovations, sales, imposition of taxes, and the like. The lower class of inhabitants pay a fixed and very moderate sum to the city taxes; so that the chief burden rests upon the ground landlords, more especially as very few towns of Tuscany supply any part of their wants by a tax on articles of consumption.

Such are the principal features of a well-meant municipal regulation; but which, on the whole, is still imperfect and confers but scanty rights. It would certainly be an improvement if the drawing from among the whole of the citizens were to cease, a wider sphere of action were assigned to the council, the term for which the priors hold office were lengthened, and the towns were left to propose their own burgomasters.

LETTER LXVIII.

Leghorn—Population – Commerce—Taxes—Customs.

Florence, June 10th.

By way of change I shall to-day carry you to Leghorn.

The times when a state or a city could acquire a power wholly disproportionate to its natural relations, and seize upon commerce in particular, are past, and will, it is to be hoped, never return through a destroying supremacy. The universally diffused activity has prescribed to that individual activity its measure and limit, beyond which in general it cannot pass. Thus Leghorn finds itself limited by Marseilles, Genoa, Ancona, Venice, Trieste, &c., and can reckon upon the custom of at most from three to four millions of people. As every one is now striving to buy and sell for himself without any intermediate person, the commission trade must decrease, and so must that with Africa, because France possesses Algiers. Still Leghorn keeps increasing in size, and displays activity, though in a particular way. To the mere traveller, Genoa, Venice, and even Pisa, are more interesting than Leghorn.

In the year 1791 the town contained 50,000 inhabitants, 64,000 in 1807, and 76,000 in 1836.

In 1757, the amount of its commercial transactions was computed at 5 million lire, in 1835 the exports were estimated at from 52 to 63 million, and the imports at from 66 to 85 million. Though these calculations may be arbitrary and exaggerated, yet that it has made very great advances even to the natural limits of trade is not to be doubted,

any more than the magnitude of the fluctuations which it has suffered can be questioned.

There entered in the year	1825	905 vessels.
	1826	721
	1827	1017
	1828	867
	1829	726
	1832	1266
	1833	1150
	1836	831
	1837	1075
Or including steam-vessels and coasters	1836	5503
	1837	5897

On an average the number of vessels has not increased since 1826. The number of vessels that entered was

	1825.	1836.	1837.	Average from 1815 to 1834.
English	170	156	185	234
Tuscan	161	114	140	178
Sardinian	152	191	184	
Austrian	111	55	139	89
Neapolitan	71	98	80	79
French	62	15	40	83
Spanish	38	12	13	25
Swedish and Norwegian	36	14	23	48
Roman	35			17

	1825.	1836.	1837.	Average from 1815 to 1834.
American	29	32	18	32
Russian	18	46	96	54
Danish	12	11	4	21
Dutch (and Hanoverian)	9			7
Algerine	1			
Greek		55	104	12
Ionian		11	22	5
Belgian, Dutch, Prussian, Hanoverian, Turkish, Roman.		23	27	19 Turkish. 1 Barbary. 1 Hamburg.

From this list it appears that some states, in regard to this direction of commercial activity, materially declined, (Spain, for instance,) while others flourished, and others were set in motion in particular years by extraordinary circumstances and demand.

The principal articles of import are corn, colonial commodities, (especially sugar, coffee, and pepper,) manufactured goods, metals, &c.; and the chief articles of exportation, leather, oil, soap, borax, straw hats, caps, liqueurs, starch, coral, &c.

Leghorn, as it is well known, is a free port, and

many duties particularly oppressive for commerce were abolished in the year 1834, (perhaps too late,) and in their stead a tax was laid upon the mercantile profession, to be divided by it and levied according to four classes. Various duties on articles of consumption are likewise levied at Leghorn.

The fixed receipts of the town (from rent and the like) amounted in 1838 to about 20,000 lire; the variable, arising from taxes of all kinds, to 861,000. For 1839 the receipts and expences are calculated at 852,000 lire. The first custom-house regulation which is worthy of mention, and which suppressed great abuses, is that of the year 1781; the second, proceeding still farther, of the year 1791. All the lines of custom-house in the interior were abolished, the duties levied at all places of import equalized, the customs' roads specified, and circumstantial instructions given relative to the administration properly so called. Those custom-house laws paid homage to the then prevailing mercantile system, inasmuch as (in order to promote native manufactures) they impeded or prohibited the export of many raw articles, for instance, wool, silk, rags, hides, &c. It appears extraordinary, on the other hand, that cattle and corn were allowed to be imported and exported duty free. In 1816, the duties on all articles not produced and manufactured in the country were raised

one-fourth; but in 1833 many of them were again lowered. The net receipts of the customs amount to 9 million lire, (or much more than double the land-tax,) and the charges of collection to about 1,250,000.

At the gates of Florence the receipts, the whole of which go to the state, were, in 1832, 2,120,000 lire. Florence consumed yearly 497,000 *barili* of wine, and 47,000 of oil. If this wine was drunk in Florence and by Florentines only, and we take in round numbers 500,000 *barili* and 100,000 Florentines, there would be annually 5 barili, or about 340 bottles per head; but this must be far below the real consumption, for we must recollect that women drink less wine and children none at all.

LETTER LXIX.

Tuscany—Population—Army—Clergy and Monks—Universities.

Florence, June 11th.

The population of Tuscany amounted in 1815 to 1,169,000 inhabitants, in 1825 to 1,256,000, and in 1838, in a round number, to a million and a half. For this population an army of 7 to 8,000 men, partly on furlough, appears, in comparison with many other states, moderate enough.

For the proper management of the levies, a commission composed of magistrates and other respectable men is annually formed in each commune. It is left for them to determine what way the number of recruits required of the commune, in proportion to its population, shall be obtained, and that with the least inconvenience to the inhabitants, and without detriment to the state. They generally begin with looking about for volunteers, and without ceremony pick out any idle useless individuals, if they are liable to military duty. This liability commences with the 21st year, and the military service lasts six years. Ecclesiastics, students, persons married in the current year, only sons of widows or of fathers seventy years old, fathers of families who live by manual labour, &c. are exempted.

The commission decides, after taking the volunteers and persons of bad character, whether the number still deficient shall be obtained by money or by lot. In the former case, it has a right to raise a recruiting tax by classes upon all who are liable to military service, that is to say, all who are not soldiers, consequently, even civil officers, fathers of families, Jews, only sons, &c. This method is sometimes preferred, because it divides the burden among many, and secures to the recruit a bounty of 50 scudi. In other places they seek, on the con-

trary, to avoid the paying of money, and conceive that, as the number to be levied is but small, the other alternative, the lot, is not attended with any great danger. The person who is drawn may, but, if a Jew or a heretic, he must, find a substitute. In every town there is a civic watch composed of respectable persons. The arms are deposited in a public place, and an inspection is held once a month.

It is pleasing to see that in Tuscany all peaceful objects are not made subordinate to military ones, that the greater part of the revenues of the state are not expended on the latter, and that the inhabitants enjoy the welcome liberty of dividing and lightening the burden of recruiting. But, on the other hand, there are complaints that the selection of loose persons and the acceptance of bad substitutes are prejudicial to the spirit of the army and diminish respect for it. It is true that, in Tuscany, among the cardinal virtues, moderation takes precedence of valour, and there is reason to doubt whether uninterrupted tranquillity, self-chosen activity, and æsthetic feeling, are adequate means for so steeling a people that, in times of impending danger, they shall sacrifice every thing to love of country, and if not gloriously conquer, yet leave in their fall a model for happier generations.

If Tuscany has a less numerous army of soldiers,

it has, like all Italy, so much the more numerous a host of foundlings, ecclesiastics, and monks. Balbi gives the following numbers for this country.

The secular clergy consisted in 1830 of		7,000 priests.
The other clergy (*chierici*)		3,000
Total		10,000
There are, with a provision,		
Monks	1,150	
Nuns	4,200	
Mendicant monks	1,400	
		8,150
General total of persons		18,150
There are convents of monks with a provision		45
„ nunneries		67
„ convents of mendicants		50
Total		162

For the year 1835, I find the number of the secular clergy stated at 8,901, that of the monks at 2,461, that of the nuns at 3,939, that of the convents of monks at 133, (52 of which were mendicant convents) and that of the nunneries at 69. Which of these statements is most accurate, or how the variations that have crept in are to be accounted for, I have not learned with certainty.

In so highly polished a land as Tuscany, the

value of education and instruction has by no means escaped the attention of the government and of individuals; yet much still remains to be done, and schools and universities appear to be very scanty in comparison with the number and revenues of the clergy and especially of the monks. Indeed, the Italians do not acquire knowledge by means of their universities, but in spite of them; and how can governments be surprised if many, both old and young, have either no ideas at all, or false ones, of passing events, of social relations, states, constitutions, and governments, since every genuine avenue to science and experience is cut off from them by the perverse one-sidedness and silly apprehension of their rulers!

Would it not be better if Tuscany had one capital complete university than two, which are equally far from answering the conception and the end, as the persons who hold appointments in them most deeply feel and most bitterly lament? On the average of late years, Pisa had from five to six hundred, Siena from two to three hundred students, the greatest number of the law, the smallest of divinity.

LETTER LXX.

Tuscany—Administration of Justice—Jews—Revenues and Expenditure of the State—Public Debt.

Florence, June 12th.

As in every state, so in Tuscany, there are authorities for the different branches of the administration, but, from the smallness of the country, several of them can be committed to one person, or the intermediate authorities, indispensable in an extensive empire, can be spared. Instead, therefore, of tiring you with particulars, which are in some measure matters of course, I will notice some points in the judicial system which was new-modelled last year.

In the first place, the vicars and podesta are judges in the individual places or in smaller districts, to the value of 400 lire, and in many other cases without reference to value, for instance on wages, non-performance of contract by the halflings, removal of boundaries, possession, &c. Fourteen tribunals, as they are called, judge in first instance in all matters exceeding in value 400 lire, and appeals may be made to them from the decision

of the vicars, &c., when the value exceeds 70 lire. From their second decision, there is no further appeal; but from the first decision of these tribunals appeal may be made to the superior court, (*corte regia*) when the value exceeds 800 lire. In the tribunal of first instance at least three of the judges, and in the superior court five, must give their opinion. The latter is composed of a president, four vice-presidents, and sixteen councillors. In criminal matters, there are the same gradations and divisions as in civil suits.

In no case whatever is there a jury; the proceedings, on the other hand, are always public, and in smaller matters below the value of 70 lire, mostly oral, but short notes are committed to writing in a protocol. A sort of chamber of accusation decides whether penal proceedings ought to be opened. The punishments are mild, but there is no appeal from a penal sentence. The whole course of proceeding is copied from the French, and is therefore as much extolled by some as it is censured by others. After this commencement, a new civil code must certainly be framed, for a beginning has been made there only where the task appeared to be the easiest.

The Jews are under the ordinary judges and the laws, but they have a board formed from among themselves for their divine worship, schools, poor,

&c. The relations of state and church are to be judged according to the laws of Leopold, but of late much that was formerly disputed has been ceded to the latter. A monk is not allowed to take the vows before his 24th year, nor a nun before her 30th; but notwithstanding this restriction, their number has increased since 1815.

In the year 1828, the total revenue of the state amounted, according to a statement with which I have been furnished, to 25,186,000 lire.

	lire.
Of this sum the customs and commercial duties produced	8,401,000
Land-tax	3,032,000
Salt	3,725,000
Lottery	2,309,000
Tobacco	1,577,000

For 1826, I find the revenue stated at 25,104,000 lire, and the expenditure at 23,078,000 lire, which would show a large, but to me doubtful surplus.

The charges of collection amount in general to 20 per cent. of the receipts. The military establishment cost even in Tuscany, 4,287,000 lire, while 856,000 only are allotted to public instruction and the fine arts. The expences for the court are set down as follows:—

	lire.
Management and payments in cash	2,604,000
Embellishment of palaces, buildings &c.	231,000
Keeping up the same	115,000
Gardens	21,000
Flowers	11,000
Hunting parties	34,000
Total	3,016,000

The following items are also worth quoting:—

	lire.
For the University of Pisa	150,000
Purchase of works of art, excavations, &c.	23,000
Egyptian Travels	22,000
Map of Tuscany	7,000
To the Pergola theatre	13,000
Citrons (*cedrati*) for the pope, and flowers for the churches	1,601

Though there exist all sorts of public debts there is no entry of them in the published accounts, neither are they ever heard of in the market or at the Exchange; a proof that their amount is small, that their security (partly on mortgage) is unquestionable, that they mostly continue in the same hands, and that they are easy to cover and to discharge.

The improvements which the grand-duke is carrying on with judgment and energy in the Ma-

remme have occasioned many extraordinary expences. It is hoped that they will some day amply repay all that has been laid out upon them. So much is certain that they already contribute much to the health of the population, formerly afflicted, nay, swept away, by disease. Many an undertaking would be facilitated, if laws like those of Prussia concerning redemptions and the founding of absolute property were issued and carried into operation.

LETTER LXXI.

Florence—Income and Expenditure of the City—Municipal Regulations.

Florence, June 13th.

I HAVE just received a statement of the receipts and expences of the city of Florence for the year 1834, and shall extract some of the principal items, as it would be too tedious and uninstructive to enter into all the petty details. The total income amounts to 818,000 lire, and the expenditure (with the exception of a covering sum,) is stated to be just as high. Among the receipts we find:—

	lire.
Fixed income for farms, ground-rents &c.	115,000
Extraordinary income	2,000

of which 1900 lire for opening the theatres

	lire.
Compensation from the State for the tax on articles of consumption	70,000
Fines for not attending the meetings of the magistrates	100
Family-tax	50,000
Land and house-tax	616,000

The last two items are of most importance, since the city derives no benefit from the tax on articles of consumption; but 46,000 lire out of the family-tax, and 280,000 out of the land-tax, go to the state: thus these sums diminish the real income and expenditure of the city to about 492,000 lire.

Among the expences are the following items—

	lire.
For the extinction of debt (all in round numbers)	13,000
Do. military burdens of 1815-1816 ...	16,000
Charge for management, about	25,000
Preparation of the *Cadastre*	13,000
Streets, bridges, new buildings	130,000
Cleansing the city	25,000
Lunatic hospital	35,000
Foundling hospital	7,000
Fire institution	21,000
Schools	5,000
Workhouse	60,000
Public festivities	24,000

Some expences which would otherwise fall upon the city the state has taken upon itself, with so much the more reason as the tax on consumption (excepting a small compensation,) goes into its coffers. The foundling hospital costs the city (notwithstanding the income that it derives from foundations,) more than the schools do; the public festivities as much as the whole management, and the lunatic hospital, 10,000 lire more than the latter. The expence for the streets, (on account of the capital but not durable pavement,) is very high; but in the sum above stated are included various extraordinary outlays. A provision of 43,600 lire is made out of other funds for lighting the city.

To my former communications relative to the municipal regulations, I have to add some particulars that I have just learned. The sum demanded for admission into the roll of citizens is not everywhere alike, and, singular enough, it is higher in some of the small towns than in the larger. It is fixed by the towns themselves. The personal tax amounting to from 2 to 90 lire, mostly divided into six, (in Florence into ten) classes, appears much more natural; but no regard is had to this on admission into the roll of citizens. There is, moreover, a difference between the qualification for prior and for a member of the great council. The former post can be held only by such as in Florence, (ac-

cording to the new *cadastre*) possess a net income from landed property of 420 lire. On the other hand, every one possessing any landed property, however small, is admitted into the great Borsa, (in Florence about 5,000 persons,) out of which the members of the great council are drawn by lot. Now the great council has nothing whatever to do with current business, but it has a right to be heard on the subject of new offices, institutions, &c. If then the lot falls on incapable persons, they must be permanently kept aloof, or their spontaneous concurrence must be reckoned upon. At any rate, election by lot from among a mass of several thousand citizens is the very worst expedient; (though the Athenians employed it to their prejudice); and it is proved in Tuscany, (as elsewhere) that forms, in appearance extraordinarily liberal, in reality and necessarily throw all power into the hands of a few leading persons and of the government, because their strict application is impossible or leads to confusion.

LETTER LXXII.

Journey to Rome—Heat—Best Season for visiting Italy.

Rome, June 18th.

As you see by the date that I have arrived safe in Rome, I shall continue my report chronologically.

On Saturday the 15th, packed, paid my bill, once more visited the cathedral and part of the Cascines, and left Florence about eleven o'clock. As far as Siena, well cultivated hills and dales, and from the city, which stands high, extensive and beautiful prospects. But soon afterwards, bare unsightly clay-hills, till nightfall covered alike beauty and deformity. Upon an average, the thermometer stood at 24° (86° Fahr.) but rose between twelve and two o'clock to 28° (96° F.); nay, just under the roof of the coach, upon which the sun shone, to 39° (119° F.) As it is divided no further than 40° (122° F.) I removed it, lest it should burst. In the evening and at night, moon, planets, and stars, wonderfully brilliant, and, on each side, many thousands (no exaggeration,) of luminous glow-worms, or as I almost believe of elves performing their dances. The coach long, commodious—refreshing sleep. At daybreak, (Sunday, the 16th.) near Radicofani, perched upon a wild rock, 13° (61° F.) and gradually rising to 26° (90° F.) consequently two degrees less than on the preceding day, but a great deal more dust than on the Florentine roads. At Ponte a Centino enter the papal territory without search—neither indeed had I anything whatever chargeable with duty. Aquapendente finely situated, but at this time without *aquä*. The lake of Bolsena was pleasing, if only for the

sake of variety, but no more to be compared with the beautiful lakes of northern Italy than a smaller one in the vicinity of Ronciglione. Both, indeed, are much more like the lakes of the Mark of Brandenburg than those of Switzerland. At Montefiascone, for dinner, broth scarcely fit to take, and a piece of beef without sauce, mustard, or addition of any kind, and so dry that one might have wrapped it in white satin without being afraid of soiling it. The wine bad, and tasting of the musty cask, the Orvieto better that we had at Baccano. From Montagna, the first glimpse of Rome. Recollections of Terni, Civita castellana, and Soracte, standing detached. Drove rapidly through Viterbo. The red esparsette and tall yellow flowering broom very common; the trees on either side cut down, to deprive robbers of lurking places. Beggary more than enough; but one gets hardened, and gives to none, because one cannot give to hundreds, and every gift only attracts the vermin. The principles which the Roman government alone formerly adopted in regard to mendicity have now extended to Florence and Turin. It is an allowed, nay, even a privileged trade and means of subsistence; and Austria alone adheres to more enlightened principles than the native governments. Another most lovely evening, so that one takes less notice of the desert of the Campagna di Roma. The camp of the herdsmen and their

night-fires indicated, however, an application of the soil, such as is scarcely to be met with anywhere else in Europe. But of this hereafter.

Ponte Molle and the Tiber roused me from various reveries. Rome must transport us from the often trivial present, into another world though the tragic element prevails in it, in order to purify the mind by fear and pity. About ten o'clock, we reached the city, and about half-past ten, I was set down at the Cesari hotel, close to the Corso and the Dogana, and consequently in the heart of the city.

As in the beginning of my journey the cold played a part, so now the heat claims some notice. It rose yesterday, as I was told, for I had not hung up my thermometer, to 28° (96° F.); and this morning at half-past five, I found it at 18° (72° F.) though the windows in my room, adjoining to my bed-chamber, had been open all night. At this moment, (half-past six), I am obliged to shut up all close, because the temperature is rapidly rising.

Whoever comes to Italy for a month or two only would do best to choose the autumn; at least I cannot prefer winter here to summer, for,

1. The days in summer are longer, and allow you to see more in a shorter time.

2. In Italy too, nature is much less beautiful in

winter, and most of the trees, as well as the vine, leafless.

3. The heat lasts only during certain hours in the day, whereas, the evenings and nights are most delightful.

4. The same degree of heat is with us more oppressive, and the sirocco alone has the same effect as the sultriness of a northern climate.

5. The winterly cold in Italy, in the almost total absence of all means of warming, is more unpleasant than the heat.

LETTER LXXIII.

Rome—Argentina Theatre.

Rome, June 19th.

With good ice I cooled the rest of the heat, and then went (in compliance with ——'s kind invitation) to the Argentina Theatre, where the Montecchi, &c., was to be given with unusual éclat by M. Donzelli, the sister of the London Grisi, and Marini. After each air, these were thrice called for, and kept for minutes together in the attitude of thanks by clapping, acclamations, and applause, till in general the officious doctor, that Jack in both families, interposed to join the piece or the pieces toge-

gether, and to restore tranquillity. I was very angry with myself, because I could not share in this enthusiastic admiration. It is true this was partly attributable to external causes: the heat, namely, and the close air induced drowsiness, and *dons gratuits* (administered still more liberally than in the Jews' Street) roused one again, and hopped up and down like the music. But this, in comparison with some of the latest pieces that I have seen in Italy, is a wonderful performance. Madame —— told a Bavarian, who placed Madame Devrient far above the Grisi here, that this arose from his ignorance of the language. This remark will not apply to me. I certainly prefer Devrient, Hähnel, and Malibran to this second Grisi, but I shall abstain from further criticism, for which the weather is much too warm.

LETTER LXXIV.

Rome—Hunting—Remarks on the History of the Hohenstaufen—Peyron.

Rome, June 22nd.

Rome ought by right to elevate the tone of the mind; but the heart produces a contrary effect, and a passion for hunting, unfelt by me elsewhere, costs me time, as well as other friends or foes of

Italy. On the 31st of May, Tieck's birthday, the hunting season commenced, but I had no particular sport till I reached Rome. At first, I was most anxious to observe decorum, but lost a great deal of time for the sake of very little booty. I therefore thought it would be better to hold a grand *battue* in bed, and to hunt all the greater preserves in the morning by daylight, and in the evening by candle-light. But, while I was in close pursuit of a long-horned or long-legged beast, ten others were falling foul of and worrying me. This, however, only serves to inflame the passion to such a degree that one makes no distinction between one's own territory and that of others. Evil example, too, corrupts good manners. To speak more plainly—opposite to me (the street is narrow) a couple of lusty women hunt all their preserves every evening by a capital light. At first I imagined, with my short sight, that these were phantasms of the heated blood. Clapping my spectacles on my nose, sure enough I saw every thing except the game; but the action with the thumb-nail proved that the chase had been successful.

From mere imitation, I soon raised myself to originality, and surpassed my models. At first, the stockings were pulled off, turned, and shaken out of the window. As my courage increased, I began to serve other garments in the same manner, pro-

fiting by the warning example of Professor B——, and taking good care not to drop, in the process of turning, preserve, game and all into the street. One would suppose that profusion of this kind would soon destroy the whole breed; but the ejected tenants presently pour or leap back, and every thing sets itself, like air and water, in a general equilibrium. — The everlasting Rome, you see, does not protect from such petty occupations and descriptions.

With increasing years, I am aware of an increasing fondness and dexterity for holding intercourse with the living instead of the dead, and I cannot, for the sake of a few manuscripts, turn entirely away from the present. Here, exerting my powers, I may gain perhaps ten, and there but one. But the belief (which many German scholars entertain), that one is more than ten, has long forsaken me, if ever I had it. If I find little that is exclusively literary useful to me, I only make "much ado about nothing," and get laughed at; if I find much, the matter is almost worse; at least here I discover, on close self-examination, the root of the whole disposition or indisposition. The Hohenstaufen are my first love, to which I was faithful so many years, nay, still am. I carried them about more than the time prescribed by Horace, I nursed them, I tended them, and at length presented them

to the public. And must I now fling my love and my faith into the critical retort, and even rejoice when I have distilled both away! I cannot presumptuously say of my Hohenstaufen, they are everlasting because they exist. But if there is vital power in them for but one day, it was breathed into them by love and ardent enthusiasm, and not by a paper fire, which I am now called upon to kindle, in order to warm myself and them by it. Let another paint them, and draw them with Daguerre's minuteness, so that with a magnifying glass one may distinguish every little hair and feather, and pick them out if one likes; in this way I will not, in my old days, work myself up into an historian. At first, I sought the ground of the state that I have just described in idleness alone. You will not deny me the attestation of industry during my travels; and so I have been gradually urged onward and obliged to make an explicit confession, from which I cannot tell whether my guilt or innocence is to be inferred. At present, I am looking forward with satisfaction to Naples, because I shall there have nothing whatever to do with libraries. — This supplement to the chief confession seems sufficient to condemn a professor engaged in a literary tour. But are literature and science comprised exclusively in what others have already written, read, and printed?

After these fragments of merely personal history, I must at last turn to the external course of life. On Wednesday, June 19th, I dined with the king of Bavaria. A lively conversation was kept up at table about Germany, England, the Customs' Union, schools; after dinner, I remained for a considerable time with his majesty alone, and we talked of ecclesiastical affairs, the spirit of the present time, the duties of kings, &c. It is impossible to possess greater sincerity, nobler sentiments, and a more laudable love of truth, than the king. He strives with all his might to prepare himself for the high function to which God has called him: such efforts carry their reward along with them, and thus the outward fruit too will not be wanting.

On Thursday, the 20th, I received a visit from Peyron, the great orientalist, who is now pursuing his inquiries concerning the Coptic in the Propaganda. He said that Champollion's assertions and proofs were more regular and more to be trusted than Seyfert's, but that the former had gone too far, and for ten steps forward one must take five backward. Many things that Champollion has alleged to be Coptic he could not recognize as such. From the mathematical regularity and stiffness of the language, he could not possibly believe that a poetical and historical literature, in the higher signification, had ever existed in Egypt.

For the arrangement and appreciation of the biblical manuscripts, the Alexandrian in particular, a new edition of the Coptic version, for which all requisite auxiliaries are at hand, would be extremely serviceable.

LETTER LXXV.

Rome — Nocturnal Concert — Feast of St. John — The Lateran.

Rome, June 25th.

In the Piazza Colonna there are booths amply supplied with well-flavoured oranges and citrons, brilliantly lighted with numerous lamps and lanterns, decorated with flags, and fresh water is incessantly supplied by the copious fountain for making all sorts of cooling beverages. For a few bajocchi I refreshed myself, and hoped to sleep soundly after this rich Roman day. But about midnight (my repeater proclaimed the hour) I was wakened by the loud singing of two men who were addicted to the nasal ætacism; about one, two asses under my window engaged in a similar musical competition, and proved that they were bred in the Italian school. About two o'clock, a couple of cats commenced a duet, in which two numerous demi-choirs joined, with or without approbation. I was more

patient and attentive than the dogs of the neighbourhood, which, by their general barking, condemned this performance. The cats, with a noble consciousness of their talents, continued their modulations till the hisses of human envy issued from divers windows, and certain fluids were discharged on the heads of the singers, which raised their last efforts to the highest *sforzato*, and produced the most brilliant finale. Thus terminated the series of entertainments of day and night. Some bites, which critical fleas added to the feline melodies, I considered as absolutely superfluous, but was obliged to take them as an Italian make-weight thrown into the bargain.

On the 24th, St. John's day, a different world. Screened by my umbrella, I boldly sallied forth to encounter sun, dust, sirocco, and boys shouting *Piove!* on my way to the distant Lateran. After so many military reviews I wished once more to see an ecclesiastical one. But there was not an absolute lack of military parade, for dragoons opened and closed the procession of the pope and the cardinals. All the carriages were alike, all the horses black, all the trimmings red. The pope's coachman, &c., in great boots and red silk clothes. He himself, in all his splendour, bestowing benediction; the people taking part, but rather from old habit than from any religious feeling. In the church, a marshalled

procession of clergy, bishops, and cardinals, in various uniforms. The cardinals most of them so old and infirm that the quarrel between state and church would turn out very unfortunately for them, if it were to be decided on this spot with swords and fists. The pope borne aloft above all, shaded with peacock's feathers. As soon as he had passed, crowding, thrusting, talking, running this way and that way, as at a fair, without order, seriousness, devotion. A never-varying form may be the best, but has nothing new in it to awaken attention. The pope has a good-natured, benevolent countenance, and seems to enjoy excellent health. At least I could perceive nothing to lead me to think otherwise.

LETTER LXXVI.

Rome — Politics — Hanover — Etruscan Museum.

Rome, June 27th.

In comparison with the vast quantity of politics which one can and must consume in England and France, one is stinted in Italy to a pretty homœopathic dose, and the newspapers play a merely subordinate part. But I have seen in them with great concern that — — —

So much the more agreeable to me was the peace-

ful turn in Hanoverian affairs. In comparison with the *grandes journées des grandes nations*, this German denouement is weak and insipid to those who are fond of Spanish pepper and French garlic; but in truth every German must rejoice at the moderation which was associated with firmness, at the piety which (out of self-respect itself) was never quite thrown aside, at the abstinence from all means that would have overshot the mark, and at the endeavours to bring the christian virtues of faith, love, and hope, into accordance with the other cardinal virtues. The most infatuated partisan is obliged to acknowledge all this with commendation, and so I hope for the best result.* The historian is authorised to assert that but for the — — of ——, this fine chapter in German history would be wanting. But one such general rehearsal is sufficient; in a *Da capo* the overstrained strings might break.

I continue to live in my uniform, quiet way. Very hot days, very fine evenings. Every day something seen, heard, learned.

Yesterday I went with A —— to see the Etruscan museum, founded by the present pope, in the Vatican. It is surprisingly rich, well arranged, and affords an instructive view of the artistical

* It is to be regretted that the prospect of a peaceful and amicable adjustment, which then appeared, has since vanished.

efforts, and also the mode of life, of that people. It is only to be wished that it may soon find official or voluntary describers and expounders — a thing hitherto not permitted.

LETTER LXXVII.

Rome, June 27th.

REFLEXIONS ON ART BY ONE OF THE UNINFORMED.

THIRD CONTINUATION.

DANGER OF BEAUTY.

THE — —, one of the finest women in Rome, called beauty the most dangerous gift of Heaven. Are not then all the gifts of Heaven dangerous, for instance, wealth, power, high birth, &c.? And yet every one wishes for them, or at least very few would refuse them if offered. This arises by no means from mere censurable vanity, but because those gifts of Heaven possess a real and a great value, and a correct feeling tells men that it is possible at least to abstain from the abuse of them. But indeed, he to whom much is entrusted has much to answer for, and whoever runs giddily into danger perishes in it. According to an ancient tale, there was once a muff which possessed a miraculous property. Whoever blew into one end of it

became beautiful, and whoever blew into the other became virtuous; and this latter method the relater extolled beyond measure. When a boy, I thought it very absurd to set about acquiring virtue in this manner by blowing, and I had many a dispute on the subject with the singing-master of Wörlitz. Unluckily, the beauty-end of the muff is lost too; but a consolatory conviction long prevailed that even the person not endowed with beauty may derive from goodness the power and possibility of living beautifully. Since this notion has been lost, beauty has become a monopoly of few, and, in spite of its high price, a precarious, transient, dangerous, and yet envied monopoly.

The — — said further: I would rather be the ugliest man than the most beautiful woman in Rome; a declaration on which an interesting treatise might be written. Agreeably to received notions, several gentlemen protested against it; but I admitted the justice of her remark, because it would be intolerable to me to listen to or to accept the homage of innumerable coxcombs and puppies. The deep sigh with which the — — concurred, proved to me that my conclusion was no mere hypothesis, but that it was confirmed by many bitter and annoying experiences.

THE VATICAN — TORCHLIGHT.

There is not in the wide world a spot that comprehends such an infinity and multiplicity of treasures for the arts and sciences as the Vatican: it is indeed the land of promise for artists and inquirers. But as, since the birth of Christ, there has been no exclusively elect land for religion, no exclusively holy land, so neither is there for art and science. Collections and academies have, it is true, often assisted; but often too have they impeded and extinguished the most living life, the vital light. In the collection, history is made manifest, and history rightly understood begets at once wisdom and inspiration, but whoso contents himself with looking back never advances, and that nation which rests upon its laurels throws out no shoots for new wreaths.

In point of mass, Florence is far surpassed by the Vatican; but the latter can boast of no perfectly beautiful woman, much less of a goddess, like the Venus de Medici, or that of Melos, or the Diana in Paris. The Vatican is richer in male figures; but most of them belong to a time when art had already declined, and when, if not the technical handling, at least the conception, had become less spirited. In comparison with the works of Phidias, the Meleager, Antinous, and the like, appear but mean; nay, one cannot admire even the Belvedere Apollo

with such enthusiasm as in Winkelmann's time. Assuredly, a god surpassing, in point of art, the Florentine Niobe and her children, must be a very different one and *altioris indaginis*. Laocoon and his sons show the highest that technical skill is capable of; but the principle of the figures composing the group approaches very near to that of Bernini and of the artists who have painted martyrs. Here are a great many heresies in a few lines; but I shall leave them, that I may not deprive the orthodox of the pleasure of pronouncing my condemnation.

The consideration of the finest statues in the Vatican by torchlight has a peculiar interest and peculiar advantages. Night, the surrounding scene, the half-lighted distant figures, those standing out prominently in the full light, works illumined from various sides, present to the eye unknown phenomena, and excite the mind to new feelings. Some gain, others lose, by this ordeal. Notwithstanding the gratification of being permitted to witness it through the kindness of ——, I could not help thinking that it bore the same relation to the broad daylight as our lamps, scenery, and theatrical economy to the perfect plays, or the plays representing the perfect, acted by the Greeks in the daytime. Niobe and her children would bear the broad daylight upon a darker back-ground; they would

need no æsthetic screen from sunshine or light. It is not merely the pure love of art, but also a certain *piquant* refinement that dictates this expedient of torchlight.

I do not set up for a puritanical moralist, but yet I could not divest myself of an idea of a different kind. Our manners and customs, perhaps too an original, inextinguishable feeling of modesty, command the covering of the naked. Art has very properly not submitted unconditionally to this practice, or pretended to find modesty and chastity essentially in apparel. But it is certainly not consistent if ladies draw in their feet, lest one should see instep and ancle, if they consider it indecent merely to mention hips and loins in their presence, and then go and cause a whole host of naked men to be lighted above and below and in the middle, before and behind, and every thing to be explained by the young gentlemen who accompany them with æsthetic phrases and exclamations.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Rome—Illumination of St. Peter's—Fireworks at the Castle of St. Angelo.

Rome, June 30th.

People say very frequently (with or without just ground), I fancied that such or such a thing was

much grander and more splendid! The illumination of St. Peter's on the 28th, and the fireworks at the Castle of St. Angelo on the 29th, far surpass all expectations, are unique in their kind, and are alone worth a journey to Rome. Beyond this testimony one cannot give any description of these visual wonders, for it would fall infinitely short of the spectacle and convey no adequate idea of it. What I am about to add in a few dry words aims not, therefore, by any means at the impossible.

There were illuminated, 1, in double rows of lamps, the upper margin of the great colonnade on both sides of St. Peter's; 2, the capitals of all the pillars of the façade of the church, the architrave, all the windows, and that portion which rises above the architrave; 3, the small cupolas; 4, the great cupola up to the cross. The illumination itself is composed of two parts: in the first place, it consists of an infinite multitude of lamps which stand behind light paper screens, a contrivance that gives to the softened light an astonishing, nay, a magic, effect. Then with astonishing rapidity appear every where blazing torches, a burst from the gentle piano to the splendour of the most victorious fortissimo. All the defects of the façade disappear amidst this double illumination, and the cupola displays its majesty and magnitude in a wonderful manner. I saw it from St. Peter's Place, from the bridge of St. An-

gelo, and from Monte Pincio, and at all these distances the effect was grand, exquisite, incomparable.

I had concluded, and not without reason that, compared with this light, the fireworks at the Castle of St. Angelo must be but insignificant, and yet they are neither less astonishing nor less unique in their kind. I obtained an excellent place, directly opposite, close to the river. At a given signal there appeared in rapid succession a series of the most diverse and most brilliant phenomena; so that all the fireworks I have ever seen were but trumpery in comparison with them. Gigantic sheaves of rockets, crackers, fireballs, serpents, in all directions; wheels, stars, figures, and movements of the most various kinds, cataracts formed of torrents of fire, &c. Presently, from amidst all this, sprang forth a spacious gothic cathedral (reminding you of that of Orvieto), composed by enchantment of fire of all colours; next, perfect night and silence; new signs, new wonders! In short, with these two Roman *fêtes* no others are to be compared.

What took place in St. Peter's itself was like what I had seen in the Lateran: ecclesiastics and soldiers, church music and military music, pope, cardinals, bishops, &c. A dragoon entangled himself in such a manner with his spurs in the robe of a bishop, that they could scarcely extricate themselves—an emblem of the confusion between church

and state. At one place I was told by a soldier that I must not go any further, on account of my great-coat. At the same moment a couple of dogs dashed past us into the sanctum sanctorum. It is true they had only close coats on. In the lower church, richly furnished with historical and artistical monuments, I tarried on this occasion but for a short time, doubly fearful of taking cold and of *malaria* before my departure.

LETTER LXXIX.

States of the Church—Government and People—Schools—Universities.

Rome, June 20th.

You know that it has never been my intention to collect something complete on the present state of Italy, and to write a systematic book, but merely to furnish supplementary information wherever there appeared to me to be gaps, and when favourable circumstances placed authentic particulars in my hands. Least of all, need there any efforts of mine where others have already exhausted a subject on which all that I could say would be but unsatisfactory. Thus, for instance, in regard to the State of the Church, a work now in the press, entitled "Roman Letters," is likely to fulfil every wish; for which reason I shall touch only on some points,

rather for the purpose of making them clear to myself than to others.

In the first place, I hear immoderate praise and frequently immoderate censure bestowed on the present government, in regard not only to temporal but also spiritual matters. The total separation of the one from the other is then proposed as a remedy. Indeed these two sides have so essential an influence upon each other that, from the adoption of this proposal, something quite new—better or worse—must arise.

Supposing that such a complete separation were to take place, and that the Ecclesiastical State were to become a temporal dukedom, the greatest loss might accrue on other sides from such a measure; and, in the first place, Rome would be transformed from the capital of the Catholic world into the capital of a mere duchy. In a spiritual respect, the change so strongly recommended must have still worse consequences; the pope, now independent, would certainly fall into oppressive dependence on some Catholic power, and the times of the Avignon and Napoleon captivity would return. The Protestant plan, which would set aside the pope altogether, I leave quite out of the question, and reserve to myself the right of perhaps expressing hereafter my unassuming opinion concerning the connexion of church and state.

This, however, is the proper place for noticing another assertion which has been frequently advanced, namely, that, in the States of the Church, people and government form the most glaring contrast; that the former is beyond measure excellent, the latter beyond measure wretched. In particular moments such a contrast may present itself by means of highly distinguished or highly condemnable persons: the preponderance of the better or the worse may fall to the one side or the other for longer periods. Upon the whole, however, the government and the people are in constant mutual connexion; and, as the comparative anatomist deduces from individual parts the structure of the whole animal and knows what it is, so can the statesman draw conclusions about the people from the government and the laws, and about the government from the manners and customs of the people. To me it appears that the praiseworthy and the censurable in the States of the Church are rather to be attributed to this connexion and this re-action than to be inconsiderately denied. The pre-supposition that only the defective, the unenlightened, the interested, &c. push upward out of the masses and attain to the government, while the pure gold is left lying at the bottom — this pre-supposition of many pseudo-liberals appears to me as full of prejudice and error as the opposite notion of many hyper-aristocrats,

that the true law of nature and nations permits them to walk about at pleasure on the heads of the corrupt masses that stand beneath them.

But I shall quit this ground of general considerations, to communicate to you to-day some extracts from the legislation of Leo XII. concerning schools and universities. In the preamble to the great bull of August, 1824, Cardinal Bertazzoli points out certain erroneous tendencies of purely material science, and remarks on the necessity for making moral education go hand in hand with intellectual cultivation. Quite right. In the middle ages, Rome ruled the Christian world so long as she stood at the head of moral and intellectual cultivation. In the 16th century the latter could not prevent the dissevering of Christendom, because, though there might be art and science, yet piety and virtue were no longer to be found in Rome. There only where a renewed, an enlightened, union of these interests takes place is the soil upon which future generations will deem it a duty and a happiness to settle.

The principal provisions of that law are the following:—A congregation is founded for superintending all matters relating to public instruction. In the Ecclesiastical State there shall be two chief universities (Rome and Bologna), each having at least 38 professorships, and six universities of secondary rank, at Ferrara, Perugia, Camerino, Ma-

cerata, Fermo, and Urbino, each with at least 17 professors' chairs. At the head of the first two there is an arch-chancellor, at the head of the others a chancellor. In Rome it is the cardinal-cammerlinga, in Bologna the archbishop, in the other towns the archbishop or bishop. They attend to the enforcement of all laws, exercise judicial authority, award punishments (in concert with the rector or other persons) up to a year's imprisonment, preside at the election of professors and the conferring of academical degrees.

Every university has a rector, who keeps an eye not only on the behaviour of the students, but also on that of the professors, and observes whether the latter perform their duties. Each of the four faculties of a chief university must have twelve, and of each minor university, six to eight professors. No professor can be removed but for the most weighty cause (*gravissima causa*), and only on the decision of the congregation, which judges of the matter. The faculties have the right of choosing their dean, instituting examinations, conferring academic honours, proposing persons for professorships, expressing their opinion, advising any measure that appears beneficial to the university and the students, and to the arts and sciences.

For the appointment to professorships a competition (*concorso*) takes place, as well as a written

and oral examination of the candidates. In voting by ballot, the chancellor and some of the persons belonging to the town magistracy have a vote. In regard to theological appointments, which are supplied by certain orders, an examination of a different kind takes place. Men already enjoying an acknowledged literary reputation are not subject to canvassing and examination. No elected professor can be deprived of his post without just cause and sentence.

Every professor takes for the groundwork of his lectures a printed sketch approved by the congregation. He is at liberty to dictate his further explanations. Most of the lectures must be held in Latin. In every faculty there must be a supernumerary professor, to deliver lectures for any colleague who may happen to be ill or prevented by other causes.

Books are never lent out of the libraries; neither are prohibited books ever supplied without higher permission.

The bishops and magistrates, after previous consultation, submit their proposals to the congregation respecting the number and kind of the town-schools. The appointments are offered to competition, the examination takes place in the presence of the town-council, and the candidate who has most votes is presented to the bishop for confirmation.

In order to matriculation, a student must afford proof of certain attainments. One who has been expelled cannot be admitted into any other papal university. Such as do not regularly attend mass, and perform other religious duties, are neither furnished with testimonials, nor are the academical degrees of bachelor, licentiate, or doctor conferred upon them. The rights of the different universities in regard to the conferring of degrees are not exactly alike. Every professor, schoolmaster, doctor, must subscribe to the profession of faith of Pius IV. A candidate for a doctor's degree must have been four years at the university, and at each university several honorary doctors are nominated annually from among the students. They are subject to the prescribed examinations, but not to the usual fees. These amount for the bachelor's and licentiate's degree to 10 scudi, and for the doctor's 40.

All the students are annually examined in this way: each professor condenses the main points of his lectures into not fewer than fifteen themes, one of which is drawn by lot, and must be composed and written out in the space of four hours. At the two principal universities, the vacation lasts from the 27th of June to the 5th of November, in those of the second class from the 20th of July to

the 5th of November, exclusively of many festival times and saints' days.

The gymnasiums of the bishops and orders are not subject to the general regulations. All schools of mutual instruction are suppressed. No person is allowed to set up a school without permission obtained in most cases from the bishops. This permission must be governed principally by the result of a previous examination. All pupils without exception must participate in the prescribed religious instruction. The authorities determine the highest and lowest rate to be demanded for schooling. All instruction commences and closes with prayer and religious exercises. Every teacher is required to show moderation and mildness, and it is only in extreme cases that he is allowed to strike the palm of the hand with a cord without knots.

The lectures which a student must attend preparatory to the doctor's degree are partly specified in such general terms, (for instance, *S. Theologia, S. Scriptura,*) that one cannot thence form any precise idea of their nature and extent; but I subjoin the somewhat more particular requisitions in regard to philology. The candidate for the doctor's degree must have heard, in the first year, rhetoric and poetry, ancient history, Roman antiquities; in the second year, the Roman classics,

Grecian and Roman history, Grecian antiquities; in the third year, Italian classics, modern history, Egyptian and other antiquities.

I shall make no comments on this system of education, as I have already taken occasion fully to explain my sentiments on such matters, but shall merely propound the question, whether, at the time of the disturbances in Bologna, in 1831, it would not have been much more judicious to have immediately taken serious steps for imparting solid historico-political instruction than to have shut up the universities for two years, and left the restless and excited students to themselves.

LETTER LXXX.

States of the Church—Cultivation—Population—Poor.

Rome, June 22nd.

If it is impossible to raise Venice by artificial means to her ancient greatness, this is still more out of the power of man in regard to Rome, and the government must not be blamed for it without ceremony. On the contrary, almost every pope has made it a point of duty and honour to do something of consequence for the restoration and embellishment of Rome. The environs, the Campagna, prove still more intractable than the city; and while some individuals extol the beauties and

the poetry of this desert, I discover in it only the inexorable Nemesis, and the judgment which punished the conquerors, the holders of slaves and *latifundia*, the voluptuaries, beyond the fourth generation, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*.

Absence of the proprietors, self-interest of farmers and overseers, poverty and disease of the labourers; no social moral bond, no community, no settlement, no attachment to the soil, no participation in prosperity, no succour in adversity—how totally different must numberless things be, before any resurrection from this grave would appear possible! The Campagna, however, is not, thank God, the whole Ecclesiastical State, but only a small portion of it.

If this State numbered, in the year 1800, 2,400,000 inhabitants, in 1829, 2,679,000, and in 1833, 2,728,000, this shows at least an external improvement. The population of Rome, amounting in 1795 to 164,000 persons, and which had sunk in 1813 to 117,000, has now risen to 153,000. Among these there are 5,273 ecclesiastics, monks, nuns, and seminarists; that is to say, one ecclesiastical person, or in the ordinary sense of the term, one non-producer to 29. It is asserted that there are in the State of the Church 1824 convents of monks and 612 of nuns. In the space of five years, from 1829 to 1833, 3840 children were exposed in Rome; of these, I am told, 2941, or 72 per cent.,

died. They are said to occasion a yearly expense of 50,000 scudi. For the schools, in addition to their own revenue of 3,800 scudi, the government allots 4,400.

Rome superabounds in charitable institutions, for the aged, the sick, widows, orphans, beggars, prisoners, poor at their own homes, &c. The pope dispenses annually 22,000 scudi in alms; on the day of his coronation alone, 2,400 are distributed. Out of 1,400 young women who marry in Rome in the course of the year, 1,100 are supplied with a certain sum, which formerly cost the state 60,000 but now 32,000 scudi. To this the lotto contributes 5,300 scudi.

All these donations have increased rather than extinguished poverty and beggary, and Morichini has luminously explained the causes of these phenomena. He declares himself, with good reason, against beggary and idleness, and recommends the employment of the poor as the most efficient mode of relief.

LETTER LXXXI.

States of the Church—Administration—Municipal Regulations.

Rome, June 23d.

THE study of the public institutions of Venice and of modern Rome is attended with extraordinary

difficulties, because the departments of the authorities, the tribunals, &c., are not founded, any more than those of ancient Athens, on strictly scientific principles; but the great diversity was rather called forth by individual circumstances and wants, and many old superannuated regulations continued manifestly to subsist along with the vigorous ones of more recent date. Like other governments, however, the papal has of late endeavoured to introduce more unity, order, and simplicity into the course of business. In proof of this, I here communicate an extract from the important law of Pius VII., of the 6th July, 1816.

It is necessary, (so says the preamble) to approximate to a system of unity, because the discordance of the laws and usages was too great and injurious. The problem is, therefore, of a two-fold nature — in the first place to modify, and in the second, to preserve, the wise institutions of past ages.

The State of the Church is divided into 17 delegations of different importance, and each of these into several subdivisions, or districts, (*governi*). At the head of the whole government of the delegation, (with the exception of the law-department) is a cardinal, and he is assisted by two assessors. The government, moreover, selects four worthy persons, half of whom are changed every five years, and

these are to be consulted on all points of importance.

The jurisdiction of the barons is provisionally retained in some provinces, upon certain conditions, but at the same time a method is pointed out by which it may be abolished. All the judicial officers of the nobility must be confirmed by the pope, and are subject to the general laws.

In every chief town of a delegation, there is a tribunal of first instance, which also decides in appeal on certain matters that first come before the district officers. Lawsuits in matters to the amount of more than 10 scudi, in which the barons are concerned, are not decided by them, but by the nearest papal tribunal. The proceedings in the courts of first instance are public, but there is no jury. There are four courts of appeal, and a cause is at an end when two judgments have been given to the same effect. The tribunals of the Rota and Segnatur are retained, but their peculiar sphere of operation cannot be specified without prolixity. For what the French term *droit administratif* two separate instances are formed.

The pope appoints all the judges. The requisites for a judge of first instance are: moral life, the age of twenty-five years, the doctor's degree (*laureato*) and three years' legal practice. The judge of second instance must be at least thirty

years old, and have had five years' practice. New law-books are promised.

There are the like gradations in the penal courts. Sanctuaries and ecclesiastical privileges, the inquisition, and the episcopal tribunals, are retained with certain restrictions, but torture is abolished.

In every town there is a magistracy, and, in proportion to the population, a municipality of from 18 to 48 councillors or deputies of the town. The first time these are appointed by the delegate, but afterwards chosen by the councillors themselves by plurality of votes. The delegate dares not refuse his confirmation, unless for weighty reasons, and on account of legal unfitness. Two-thirds of the councillors consist of land-owners, one third of literary men, merchants, and tradesmen. Day-labourers and persons following low businesses are ineligible, but not independent farmers. Ecclesiastics having property of their own are admissible, and these take precedence of the lay-members. Where there are resident nobility, one third of the council is usually chosen from among them. Otherwise ecclesiastics and religious foundations are represented by two deputies chosen by the bishop.

The magistracy consists of a gonfaloniere, and two, four, six, (in later times from three to nine) *anziani*, (aldermen). From a triple list furnished by the councillors, the delegate selects the anziani,

and the cardinal-secretary of state the gonfalonieri. The latter continue two years in office; half of the former go out annually, and are not re-eligible till two years afterwards. The proposals of the towns, after the opinion of the anziani has been given, are drawn up, discussed by the councils, transmitted with the remarks of the delegate to the proper authority, (*congregazione del buon governo*) and finally confirmed or modified. The same procedure takes place in regard to accounts.

The gonfaloniere calls meetings of the council, and presides at them. No resolution can be adopted unless two-thirds of the members are present; neither can any resolution be carried into effect without the confirmation of the delegate and the higher authorities.

For every province, there was to be, according to the proposal of the communes, a number of provincial councillors appointed by the pope, and they were to enjoy an influence over the assessing of the taxes and the management of the accounts.

The alienation of the domains was confirmed. The restoration of suppressed churches and convents, or the compensations made to purchasers and proprietors, have cost the government prodigious sums, and are the principal causes of the wretched state of the finances.

Fidei commissa not yet suppressed remain in-

tact; new ones cannot be founded unless upon certain conditions, for instance only upon immoveable property to the value of 15,000 scudi, only in four degrees, and so forth. More liberty is allowed to religious foundations.

If there are sons, the daughters can claim only a dowry, or an allowance out of the property of the father, which in general does not exceed the proportion fixed by custom. On the contrary, if the property has been derived from females, the daughters are not excluded.

LETTER LXXXII.

States of the Church—Finances.

Rome, June 24th.

THE legislative provisions of Pope Pius VII. in 1816, were attacked in the first place by those who regarded the re-establishment of all the old institutions as the only way of salvation; and thus appeared under Leo XII., on the 5th of October, 1824, a new law, which alleged that many of the regulations of his predecessor had been found not to answer, promised a better judicial and administrative system, but immediately restored, or at any rate increased, the power of the clergy and the nobility. This new retrograde legislation met with stronger opposition than that which had been for

hastening forward; and, after the disturbances in 1831 had been quelled, the great powers of Europe deemed it their duty to call the attention of the pope to the necessity of discreet modifications. These modifications the papal ordinance of the 5th of July 1831 was designed to effect; but it has not obtained the approval of the majority, or, at least, it is found fault with as unsatisfactory.

All attempts to place the financial system on a proper footing have hitherto failed; for, though the expences of the papal court, including the cardinals, are very moderate, the army runs away with 20, the public debt with 25, or, according to others, not less than 38 per cent. of the revenues of the state; thus these amounted

in 1837 to about ..... 13,485,000 dollars.
the expenditure to 14,730,000
leaving, of course, a deficit of 1,245,000

which must lead to the dissolution of the state, without the adoption of more efficient measures than have hitherto been pursued. Into this dilemma the government has brought itself chiefly by its solicitude to restore the ecclesiastical and monastic system of former times in its fullest extent, and to compensate for all losses sustained during the French occupation. Expensive loans scarcely alleviate the pressure for the moment; but it cannot fail to recur, and with redoubled force.

This government has by no means entirely emancipated itself from the errors of the old custom-house laws, but still hopes to encourage the development of the internal activity that is wanting by prohibitions to import or export, or by rates of customs, which, as I am told, amount to 75 per cent. of the value, or, for instance, to 100 scudi on 100 pounds weight of cloth. Partial improvements have taken place of late, but they still leave much to be desired.

The land-tax amounts to about 75 bajocchi on the estimated produce of 100 scudi, to be paid half-yearly by the proprietors of land in the country and in towns. The regulations of the corn-trade vary. Since 1823 the export or import is prohibited, according as the home price rose above a certain standard, or sunk below it.

The taxes on consumption were not always alike in the whole State of the Church. In the walled places (*dazio consumo murato*) of the districts of Bologna, Ferrara, Forli, Ravenna, and in the city of Rome, they were paid for wine, brandy, flour, grain, pulse, cattle for slaughter, tallow, hay, straw, hides, raw or dried, building materials, and fuel. In open towns and places, (*dazio consumo fuorense*) the tolls were limited to wine, brandy, flour, and butcher's meat, and levied from the persons who dealt in those commodities. The tolls were in

general let for three years to the highest bidder. In all other districts, as well in the towns as in the country, a grinding toll is levied on every species of grain, excepting maize, rye, barley, and oats. But, if these sorts are mixed with others liable to toll, the tax must be paid. It amounts to 76 bajocchi 4 quattrini per *rubbio* of 640 pounds. This toll also is generally farmed out. The law contains particular directions for millers, farmers, and persons carrying corn to the mill to be ground, and for checking, ticketing, time, informations, punishments, confiscations, &c. All grinding at home, in whatever manner it may be effected, is strictly forbidden.

Salt, tobacco, alum, vitriol, and playing cards, are considered as belonging to the government. The salt is partly purchased abroad, partly supplied by the salt-works at Corneto, Ostia, Cervia, and Comacchio. The cultivation of tobacco is allowed only in certain places, and under certain restrictions. All the leaves must be offered to the government at three different prices, and none but such as are rejected can be exported. The alum is chiefly procured from the rich pits of la Tolfa, the vitriol near Ferentino and Valle Gambara, in the district of Viterbo. A game at cards costs for private houses three, in public places six bajocchi. The fees for the judicial attestation of private matters

are from 20 bajocchi to 2 scudi, those on mortgages one per thousand. For the transfer of property, or a life-interest in it, by inheritance, gift, &c. brothers pay ½ per cent., religious foundations 2 per cent., relations in the second degree 3, in the third degree 4, in the fourth degree 5, and more distant relations and strangers 6 per cent. The mischievous lottery produces the state an iniquitous revenue of more than a million and a half of dollars per annum.

LETTER LXXXIII.

Journey to Naples—Campagna di Roma—Ruins—Pick-pockets in Naples.

Naples, July 3d.

Thus far Heaven has brought me safe and sound; how, I will relate to you as briefly as possible. On the 30th of June, I took leave of M. von B——, went to see the pictures in Maria Aracœli, and then drove to the Sistina once more to admire Michael Angelo's epic. Dined at Count L——'s, where an interesting political conversation took place. Walked on Monte Pincio with ——; then, in his company, to the mausoleum of Augustus, which has been restored or rebuilt into an arena. Around it seats, above them boxes, below, in the centre, the stage, this time for fireworks;

very beautiful, though not equal to those at the Castle of St. Angelo.

At midnight left Rome with M. von H—— and the courier H. Müller, passing the Colosseum and the Lateran to the Campagna, which looked in the moonlight more desolate, dreary, and solitary than usual. In the morning, at Albano, the thermometer indicated only 11° (57° F.), did not rise above 20° (77° F.), and in the night, near Naples, I felt chilly in spite of my great coat and cloak. The Pontine marshes, without our seeing any marshes; every where rich meadows, fine crops, a long shady road, bordered with lofty trees, running through them, and having by its side a canal flowing rapidly enough. The complexion of individuals, it is true, proved that the bad character of these parts is not undeserved. Near Terracina commences the new world of Southern Italy: pomegranates, oranges, aloes in flower, fantastically situated places like Fondi and Itri, all in the new light, to which, however, beggary furnishes the usual shade. From the Garigliano to St. Agatha, the richest cultivation of various kinds: arable land, meadows, abundance of trees, the glistening river winding among them, and three-fourths of the circle of vision bounded by swelling and sinking hills, crowned by houses, hamlets, churches, and towers. Still further off the mountains of the Abruzzos, rising one above

another in every diversity of lines and masses. At first, everything lighted by the sun, then presenting itself in every degree of coloured darkness, till the earth disappeared, and the star-bespangled firmament attracted the eye and changed the train of thought. About two in the morning we reached Naples.

I have had again to listen, as I did twenty-two years ago, to panegyrics on the exquisite beauty, comprehending within itself every possible charm of the Campagna di Roma. This superstition is preserved (like many another) intact at Rome, and a man does not imagine himself to be *à la hauteur* till he has worked himself up into a belief of it. The Villa Borghese, the Villa Albani, and the like, no more belong to the Campagna than Albano and Tivoli. What now is a wilderness extending on all sides, a *zona deserta*, was at first rich woodland, then admirably cultivated arable and meadow land, comprising villages, country-houses, villas, and magnificent gardens. If the present aspect is the most beautiful and not to be surpassed, the states just described must have been the less attractive, which, in truth, involves an absurdity. If the negative can in this manner outdo the positive, then is a woman handsomest when she is no longer handsome. If I am not mistaken, there is a passage in Strabo, on the situation of Rome, which agrees

much better with my notion than with that of those too easily inspired disciples of art. They may reply that with me predominates the merely financial point of view, which neither knows nor can comprehend anything of beauty. But let us set aside whatever may be imagined, and confine ourselves to what is to be seen: here are neither trees nor shrubs, neither buildings, nor man, nor water, &c., consequently it is and must be no more than the negative beauty of the desert. Driven thus into a corner, my adversaries lay particular stress on the lines of hills beyond, and the individual ruins within, the Campagna. But those hills do not even belong to the Campagna, and the beauty of a back-ground may well bear to be separated from the ugliness of the fore-ground. Besides, there are many finer and more diversified lines of hills: as those near the Garigliano and Velino, near Naples and Taormini, near Salzburg and Gemünd, in South Wales, in the Pyrenees, &c.

Lastly, as for the ruins, they have their picturesqueness and (like all recollections) their attraction. People have, however, carried their admiration to the length of morbid refinement, according to which things swept away, stricken, and deformed by age and sin, calamity and misery, are to be preferred to that which still flourishes in vigorous health. But the import, the tragic idea, ought not

alone to predominate in these regions; and to see the works of Phidias in all their splendour in the glorious days of Athens, was a very different thing from spelling them in the British Museum in scanty relics. Numberless such instances might be adduced. That the artist can select particular points from the Campagna, and frame and hold them forth to deserved admiration, I pretend not to deny; but, beside these framed scenes, the greater space remains dreary and desolate. Whoever disputes this may fix his abode between Rome and Civita Vecchia, and secure for life the enjoyment of the charms of nature. Such a one I should think more to be pitied than envied.

An ancient proverb says that Naples and the environs are a paradise inhabited by devils. The truth of the first part of this adage is generally admitted, at least more generally than that paradise exists in the Campagna di Roma; the latter half, on the other hand, is disputed by the Neapolitans. Were I to sit in judgment, I should be obliged to censure, nay, to condemn much: but, as the devil's advocate, I would strive to prove that the Neapolitans were created before the invention of the fuss about the four cardinal virtues. These then we ought not to require of them, but to measure them by a totally different standard, which at last may be as correct, and bring them quite as far as the

pedantically moral, to the authority of which, every where out of paradise, people have been silly enough to bow. Of what use is valour to those who have raised themselves to the higher point of love of peace? of what use is wisdom, when the essential ends of life may be attained with a *dulce desipere in loco?* Temperance again is only extolled there, where starvation is the order of the day, and what the world calls justice consists essentially in nothing more than upholding the unjust monopoly of the rich against the poor.

Agreeably to the latter notion, a Neapolitan yesterday picked my pocket of my handkerchief. I caught him, however, in the fact, and was content—not caring to punish him myself any more than to call in the aid of the police—with giving him an eloquent lecture relative to those cardinal virtues. As a proof, however, that such sophistries cannot invalidate an original Neapolitan right, or induce any free inhabitant of paradise to submit to a silly legislation of more recent date, the same fellow actually stole the same handkerchief five minutes afterwards, and made off with it so precipitately, that I was not able to enforce the usual doctrine concerning property. An ultra-montane cry of "Stop thief!" would only have drawn upon the foreign crow the ridicule of the birds of paradise.

LETTER LXXXIV.

Naples—Beautiful Situation—The Exhibition—Music—Ride to Virgil's Grotto—Alfieri.

Naples, July 7th.

You will perhaps imagine that, from the beautiful Naples, I must be able to write the most copious and the most interesting letters: but this is not the case for many reasons: in the first place, because the very enjoyment of that beauty costs much time, and it cannot indeed be described, or at least not conjured up by words for the hearer or reader. When I rise, about five in the morning, and step out on my balcony, the sun is already above the heights on the left of Vesuvius, and lighting up the Molo as well as the curving shore of St. Lucia. The now tranquil volcano, on the other hand, with its two heads of nearly equal height, is still enveloped in dark shade; before it, the rippling dark blue sea, above, the light azure sky, lastly, to the right of Vesuvius, the coast of Castellamare, Vico, and Sorrento, as far as the promontory of Massa. After I have refreshed and invigorated myself with this view, heat and light are shut out as much as possible, but the cool sea-

breeze is admitted. About eleven, the sun is already to the right, and my balcony, as well as St. Lucia, is in the shade. But now the coast, which is dark during the forenoon, is gradually flooded with the sun's rays. The white houses of the above-mentioned places appear distinctly on the horizon, above them the land clothed with verdure, and at Vesuvius, this contrasts sharply with the dark head of the mountain. The sun sinks by degrees, and that radiance which was poured forth upon sky, and earth, and sea, is succeeded by the play of colours, through every shade of red, green, and blue, till the stars, piercing through the dark mantle of night, bring this succession of beauties to a satisfactory close. On particular days, however, clouds piled upon clouds enveloped even what lies near to you. Amid thunder and lightning, and the echo of all the hills, torrents of rain descended, till the curtain became more and more transparent, and the wide magic circle was again unveiled in renovated beauty to the spectator. Of oppressive heat as yet no symptom; the air lighter and more refreshing than in Rome, and no desert Campagna, no disciples of art, to compose melancholico-critical dissertations on the enjoyment of victorious natural beauties. The people, ever gay, ever humorous, even in poverty, are a perfectly appropriate accessory that disposes me also to cheerfulness; while in Rome, ecclesiastics and monks, together with all the ruins, only

serve to confirm and to render more conspicuous the grave contrast of the times.

You perceive from all this that I am not inclined to follow the adage, See Naples and die. Much more justly might one say, See Rome and die; because in the former every thing challenges you to live, while in the latter every thing reminds you of death. In Naples, too, admirable provision is made for the most material life, from green peas and oranges, through sea-fish and oysters, to wines. Whoever makes the tour of Italy for pleasure should hasten to arrive here; indeed, the judgment and suitableness of the plan of mine are confirmed more and more every day. If I could but return in the fine autumn to Germany, my cup of pleasure would be full almost to overflowing. But those who maliciously or enviously suppose that I am giving myself up here to Capuan or Sybarite indulgences, shall for their punishment read some day what I have here been collecting and committing to paper concerning Joseph and Murat, soldiers and taxes, *cabotaggio* and *caricatojo*, &c.

On the 4th I was admitted, through M. K——'s interest, to the exhibition, already closed to the public. How far is Art here behind Nature! Excepting two or three landscapes, some shepherds' boys, and a few other pictures, most of them were so indifferent, and many even so bad, that with us they would have been rejected. As the situation

of Berlin is to Naples, so is the state of art here to that of Germany.

Ever since four in the morning (on the 6th) the guns have been firing from the ships and the bastions, in honour of the birthday of the queen dowager, who has lately married again. Every ship decorated with streamers of all colours; St. Carlo brilliantly lighted up; Rossini's Othello; Pixis nimbly galloping to and fro; nothing else worth mentioning.

I was told to-day by a seaman, that the Neapolitans are so inordinately fond of peace, that they hate the military profession, and are angry with the king, who amuses himself with it; moreover, that the Neapolitans would long since have starved but for foreigners; that these not only supply them with bread but also with flesh, because the provider of a good-natured girl always receives half of the sum that is paid. I suffered all this to go in at one ear and out at the other, confining myself to that objectively which is required of an observer. Not so my informant. In remarking on one of his stories, he said, "The man was old, and had gray hair, *like you!*" This *argumentum ad hominem* displeased me, and I shall take care another time to select a seaman who pays more respect to age because he is old himself.

Sunday the 7th.—The Countess Lebzeltern had kindly offered to play to me on the piano-forte.

That will be no great treat, you may perhaps think. You are wrong: the countess plays not only with great fluency, (which now-a-days is but too common a qualification,) but with infinitely more feeling and taste than the gentry who exhibit their talents so confidently throughout Europe. I can assure you with truth that she has not merely fingers but a heart. On this subject I recollected that the Capell-meister Fux once said to the emperor Leopold, "What a pity your majesty was not bred a musician!" He replied, "I am rather better off as it is." A composition of the countess's had in it more of profound feeling and expression than all T——'s fantasias.

Dined again to-day at the City of Rome. The cameriere placed a table for two Englishmen on the best spot in the balcony, commanding the magnificent view; but they preferred a back room, where they saw no more of the marvels of Naples than if they had dined in Nova Zembla. The cameriere shook his head, for which I gave him a few additional grani for himself. In travelling, one may play the great man on seasonable occasions at a very small expence. When I have changed a louisd'or, and have my pockets full of silver and copper, I fancy myself richer than before; but find that, as far as Naples, my former experience is confirmed, that one needs and spends twice as much money here as in Rome. The enjoyment of the

present is not to be had so cheaply at Naples as the grave past which is served up in Rome as the principal dish, and swallowed dry. In travelling, a decided purpose, a decided predilection, is almost always manifested; science, art, society; in Naples, on the contrary, it seems quite sufficient to be there, and to indulge in all the pleasures that present themselves. How long this way of life will please and last, I shall soon learn from experience, and not conceal from you. As an allopathic preservative against mental vacuity, several heaps of books are lying before me.

If any where, it can be said in Naples, "The true beggar only is the true king." This, however, is, one half of it, a mere phrase. With much greater, much more profound truth, it may be asserted that the true mendicant monk alone is the true king. The mere having nothing is but a mere negation, and helps no further; the deliberate renunciation stands higher; but when the *sustine* is associated with the *abstine*, the resignation is nothing more than a stoic *pis aller*. It is the *right* (not the common and justly censured) view and conviction of the mendicant monk which transforms that negation into an affirmation, and the greatest and noblest riches of *being* then manifest themselves when the *having* ceases to claim the faculties and to interfere with their efforts. But how have I fallen upon this Roman reflexion in Naples? Per-

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haps in order to find the *juste milieu*, the proper equilibrium. But this is forced upon me from another side. Or, are there no spots, no shades, in this Neapolitan sea of light? To him who passes rapidly over, it appears wondrously brilliant. But if only one-half of the complaints made in this short time to me by Neapolitans, concerning the defects, failings, and crimes, in their country, and especially concerning the system of government, is true, then indeed would I rather be fixed for life amidst the widest of the sandy plains of Brandenburg.

Whether one gets accustomed to minor evils, or gradually finds them less intolerable, I cannot tell; for instance, that, in spite of daily hunts, one cannot extirpate the game; that the noise in the street never ceases the whole night long, but that every four and two-legged ass fancies he has a right to bray to his heart's content. I mention these things merely that those who stay at home may not envy the traveller too much, or lest any one should say that I paint without shades.

July 11th.—The sun is just rising to the left of Vesuvius, and tinging sky, earth, and sea—an orama unique in its kind. After the flood of light has for some minutes shown every thing sharply defined and in the utmost distinctness, its warmth calls forth light vapours, which rest like a coloured veil upon the landscape, and so temper the heat and light, that the eye can feast itself on the view

so much the longer without being dazzled. One gladly listens to the assertion that there is no occasion to travel far from Naples into the surrounding country, as this part after all is the richest and the most beautiful.

I have several times taken a ride in the evening by Castell Uovo, through the Chiaja, to the grotto of Virgil, near Nisita. In comparison with this enjoyment of nature, all the collections of art appear paltry and unsatisfactory. They are shut up in houses and halls, with windows and doors—here is the dark blue sea, bearing upon its bosom the whole varied landscape, with the lighter sky for its roof. Naples, Vesuvius, the coast of Massa and Capri, form the back-ground on the other side: while the fore-ground, as viewed from the road, is of a twofold kind. On the one side, namely, the hills rise, and on the other they sink to the sea, here cut perpendicularly, there gently undulating, or having deep clefts. At one place, the unlevelled rock, with its natural curved lines, forms the foundation of the houses, at another it has been levelled, at a third heightened by masonry, at a fourth excavated, and the dwellings built in it. Among the numberless houses, not one stands upon the same level with the other, but, from the margin of the sea to the top of the hill, there they are, facing every point of the compass, each differing from the rest, without rule, law, or fixed proportion for doors, windows,

stairs, roofs, piazzas, and decorations—all peculiar, individual, romantic, grotesque, arbitrary, surprising—all varied, and all attracting attention. Nothing waste, bare, withered, stunted—everywhere the most luxuriant vegetation—trees, shrubs, vines, pomegranates, oleanders, oranges, and single palms. The great bay of the sea cut out and rounded into many smaller ones; and every curve, every point of these bays adorned with buildings such as I have already described, houses, loggie, lofts, staircases, balconies, and plantations. Such is the road by which you at length reach the new cut through the ridge of the hill, which separates the bay of Naples from that on the other side, and, the moment this is passed, a new and equally beautiful world bursts upon the spectator—the heights of the Camaldulences, Puzzuoli, Bajæ, Ischia, Procida, Nisita, and the promontory of Misenum.

You will think it natural that these sunrises and sunsets, these beauties of sky, earth, and sea, should attract me in preference, and that I should concern myself but little about companies and *soirées*. Literary employment and that *dolce far niente* fill up satisfactorily the circle of wants and pleasures. Still I do see men every day, and from them gain information on points on which I have to treat, not in fragments, but connectedly. I fall (in spite of my contrary purpose,) owing to urgent occasions, into descriptions of nature which are repetitions: the

same would be the case, only such repetitions would be more tedious were I to write down every conversation, or to characterize every speaker. Besides, I am obliged to read and refer to a great number of books, pamphlets, tracts, &c. Thus one day passes comfortably and yet busily after another, and the thought of home intervenes by no means to disturb but to tranquillize and cheer.

July 12th.—The editors of *Il Progresso*, a respectable journal, commenced eight years ago, mostly members of the *Accademia pontiniana*, meet once a week to confer and consult together. I attended one of these meetings the day before yesterday, desirous to make the acquaintance of men of considerable attainments, and I have been already favoured with their literary assistance. With M. Bl—, a clever writer on military subjects and political economy, (who is particularly attentive to me,) I got into conversation about Alfieri. His opinion of the latter as a dramatic writer coincided unexpectedly with mine, and he asserted that Alfieri had in reality acquired influence and consequence at first as a political pamphleteer, since he ventured to say upon the stage what could not well have been put forth through any other channel. This excitement and effect, he observed, were now past, and Alfieri is now considered only as a dramatist, in which character his merit sinks the lower inasmuch as in truth he *alone* speaks in all his plays. I find

myself supported in this heresy also, that the Neapolitans of preceding ages, such as Thomas of Aquino, Bruno, and Campanella, stood much higher and were greater geniuses than those of the immoderately lauded 18th century, Vico, Filangieri, Gonovefi. It is a pity that with such mental powers and activity as the literary men of Naples display, science, government, and people, produce only a dissonant chord, and it is difficult to say how it is to be resolved into harmony. That on this point the government is not wholly blameless I shall endeavour to prove elsewhere.

I cannot feast myself enough on the beauties of the way to Puzzuoli, which I have already noticed. On emerging yesterday from the cut in the hill into the world beyond it, the deep glow of evening already tinged hills and isles, and the small crescent moon peeped out of it like an eye which, dazzled by the brilliance, dares not open entirely. From the sea rose, not pestilential effluvia, as in the Roman Campagna, but light vapours, which benignly seek and refresh every lovely point of the coast. So yesterday evening and this morning at sunrise the continuation—

LETTER LXXXV.

Naples—Political Ideas—Music.

Naples, July 18th.

In the morning I frequently form plans as to what persons I will call upon, what churches and works of art I will go to see, after I have finished work. But the moment I set foot out of doors, these plans are forgotten; I turn, not to the left towards the city, but to the right, to the Villa reale, get into a carriage, and drive along the oft-praised road to Puzzuoli and Nisita. *Dolce far niente*, but I repeat, after I have finished work.

I take particular care not to get involved here in general political conversations, because it is most instructive for me to make myself acquainted with Neapolitan matters; but then it falls within the sphere of my inquiries to ascertain the sentiments of the Neapolitans on the subject of a general political system. They seem still to lay more stress than other Italians on certain French doctrines, for instance on that of the political contract. I cheerfully agreed yesterday with persons of this way of thinking that hereby a formal element of right is recognised, and civil society raised above the position of mere force and power; but asserted that with this the end was not wholly accomplished in regard to the state any more than in regard to

marriage. One desired me to give him a general rule, by which all injustice and all error in state and politics may be infallibly prevented. If I could do that, I replied, I should have discovered the political universal medicine, though, by the by, I do not believe there is such a thing. On this point there was no doubt that right, morality, religion, ought to have a regulating influence; but on this point I observed how little it avails to stop short here at the abstract, because it is not till the application to the living individuality that the struggle commences.

A gentleman was speaking to-day of the great Italian school of music. I wished also to show that it was not wholly strange to me, when he extolled Rossini's Tell as a masterpiece of grand old music. I perceived that old and grand were relative ideas, and I contented myself with putting in a note from time to time by way of *ripieno*

LETTER LXXXVI.

Naples—Libraries—Literary men—Excursion to Sorrento.

Naples, July 23rd.

I GOT yesterday into a long conversation with the librarians on the lending, or not lending, of books. One of them highly extolled the latter course for all the well known reasons, especially

because formerly books were sometimes stolen; our method of proceeding was wrong, and so forth. Who knows whether German librarians might not be glad to chime in with these notions, if laws and custom were to favour their convenience! I could not help remarking that at any rate one thing was better with us, namely, that nobody thought of stealing books. An *argumentum ad hominem* I left untouched. I was told that in a library in this city where no books are lent out, and to which no stranger is admitted, the books stand apparently undisturbed and uninjured on the shelves. I say *apparently;* for skilful anatomists have dissected many of them, taken out and sold the insides, and left nothing but the hog-skin backs behind.

Political grumbling at the course of public affairs thrives here most luxuriantly, and the government takes care that it shall not want the necessary manure. This bitterness, however, seems to be sweetened again by self-complacency. But this last I say only to cloak my ignorance, because I am not acquainted with many of the greatest and first-rate men, who in the discharge of Italian superlative are fired off against other nations. The expression now, thank God, fallen into disuse among us, our Rabeners, our Ramlers, our Gleims, our Klopstocks, &c. is here daily played off, and sold at full value; and if perchance a Frenchman or an Englishman, (very rarely a German) has

the honour done him to be sent before as *tirailleur* or *enfant perdu*, the Italians, or rather Neapolitans, invariably follow, as the deciding main army. It is a fine thing to have forefathers who gained and deserved many laurels, but a still finer to be a *novus homo* or a *nova natio* and plant laurels, than stuff pillows with old laurel leaves, or prefer ruins to every new building. He only acquires who perceives and knows that there is much which he has not, nay, cannot have. In this way alone is to be found the proper living career; whereas he who has, or fancies that he has, reached the goal, goes no further. But what has all this to do with my journal?

On the 19th (Friday) when you probably received my first letter from Naples of the 5th, I dined at M. von K—'s, and he took me to the Floridiana, a villa in a beautiful situation near the Belvedere, belonging to the widow of King Ferdinand. More extensive plans were concerted for the next days.

On the 20th, about ten o'clock, I meant to start with the steam-vessel for Sorrento, under the protection of the ever-obliging M. von K—. Punctuality, however, is not the order of the day here in many things, and steam-vessels among the rest. As we did not choose to wait till two o'clock, we took a boat, and, having a favourable wind, speedily reached the beautiful opposite shore, and went up

into the Cucumella, the balconies and upper rooms of which command an admirable view of the richly cultivated vale of Sorrento, the sea, and Vesuvius. This tract, the peninsula between Sorrento and Amalfi, presents so many exquisite prospects, so many variations of the grand theme of sky and earth, land and sea, plants and stones, that one might certainly feast upon them for weeks, and still find in them something new and attractive. We (that is to say, M. von K—, his sister G— the painter, his wife, and I) did as much as it was possible to do in two days—and with the aid of asses and mules a great deal was possible. But these indispensable brutes constituted the dark side of the undertaking, and not I alone, but many are unlucky with them.—After dinner, then, we rode to the *Punta di Sorrento*, hills covered on both sides with wood, till we gained an extensive view of Capri and the sea rolling beneath us.

On the 21st, Sunday, the thermometer stood, at six in the morning in the sun at 36° (113° F.)—a fearful height. But as we were screened sometimes by walls, at others by trees, and I asked permission to take off coat and stock, in case of emergency put up my umbrella, and a refreshing breeze blew the greatest part of the time, the heat was not so intolerable as one supposes or apprehends. All these favourable conditions, however, would not be sufficient to render the trip from Berlin to Potsdam

tolerable in that temperature. The uninterrupted series of grand and beautiful scenes animated body and soul, and afforded a delight that caused every inconvenience to be forgotten.

In the forenoon we ascended a height which commands a view over both bays, those of Naples and Salerno. I recognised the islands of the Syrens, which I had once seen in a dangerous storm, and admired the singularly shaped promontories piled one upon another, the dark bays, the bright sea, the steep declivities, the richly planted gentler slopes, and the *arco naturale*, a prodigious, arched rock, through which you perceive the azure sea.

In the afternoon to what is called the *deserto*, a very lofty peak, which opens a boundless view over St. Costanza, Capri, Campanella, Massa, &c.

Monday morning, the 22nd, upwards through the vale of Arola, by way of change, of almost precisely German character. Somewhat like the country about Schwarzburg, and if there was no running water, yet the mountains were loftier, and among the German trees (elms, oaks, poplars, limes) appeared myrtles and olives. Then to what was formerly a convent of Camaldulenses, whence we overlooked at the same time the beautiful declivities of Vico and Sorrento and Monte Chiaro by which they are separated. Beyond these the sea, Vesuvius, and the distant coast of Naples. In the afternoon, by steam-vessel, along the coast to Cas-

tellamare; then passed Vesuvius; the most beautiful sunset; arrived in brilliant moonshine on the coast of Naples sparkling with thousands of lights.

To the numberless causes and signs of beauty there is superadded in those parts a peculiar one, rare even in Italy, namely the extraordinarily rich and diversified vegetation, and the careful cultivation which it receives from great numbers of persons who have settled there. Nevertheless, were I possessed with the Roman mania, I should say: Burn the trees and shrubs, pull down the houses, let the people perish, and you will then have a faint likeness of the Campagna di Roma. To be quite equal to that Vesuvius must disappear, the sea be dried up, the wholesome brown of the human complexion be changed into the sickly yellow of foreign day-labourers, &c.

What I here give you is not even a sketch or a complete index, much less the coloured album of the visible; but inflated phrases would not afford a better idea of the objects, and besides I do not keep those goods in my shop. A gentleman said that the steam-vessel was so beautiful, so picturesque, so enchanting, that he shed tears because he could not shew it to a lady of his acquaintance!

On Sunday, a festival in honour of the Virgin was held at Sorrento, with lamps and all sorts of fireworks. A great number of people, and still greater noise, otherwise nothing peculiar or worth

notice. Whether the country produces more garlic or oranges it would be difficult to decide. I saw here (perhaps for the first time in my life) a drunken Italian, and the two-legged ass trod upon my toes as the four-legged one did a few days ago on my breast.

For the first time too during this excursion an Italian was dissatisfied with what I paid him. This man, who lived close by, demanded more, because he had come a great way to shave me. I replied that I had come much further to be shaved, (though not in a figurative sense) but that I would shave him for half as much, if he liked. The fellow stared at me, pocketed the money, and went about his business. With firmness, civility, and pleasantry, you may do much more in Italy than with abuse and airs of consequence.

LETTER LXXXVII.

Naples — Nature and Society, here and hereafter — Calabria and the Calabrese — Admission to the Archives of the Vatican refused.

Naples, July 25th.

My life here is very simple, and at the same time extremely diversified. The literary labours, which are the principal object of my journey, touch upon so many subjects, opens so many points of view, and make me acquainted with so many sensible and

stupid measures and opinions, that simplicity and diversity are the natural results. The same remark applies to the beauties of nature and the treasures of art.

Yesterday, I took a ride along that to me inevitable road to Nisita and Puzzuoli. I felt disposed to find fault with the hitherto undisturbed serenity of the blue sky as being too monotonous, when, on looking around, I beheld a new spectacle. Beside Vesuvius, a gigantic castle was built of black clouds, and decorated with prodigious golden pinnacles. Above it was spread a vast, white, glistening canopy, which the moon, by its side, had richly encompassed with silver radiance. Above these floated small clouds of all sorts of colours, according as they were turned more to the sun or to the moon. At the other end of the new cut through the hill, the most glowing sunset beyond Bajæ and Puzzuoli; the islands lighter or darker in proportion to their distance, opposite to the placid blue sea — a sea of verdure extending to the Camaldulenses and the Vomero. On the return the castle gone, and only a faint red tinge in the west — the silver moon reigning in majesty over sky and sea.

Can you wonder that, after such delicious entertainments given by bountiful nature, I should take little interest in a *soirée*, at which I should have to exchange complimentary phrases and to decipher the Neapolitan dialect! How much more con-

venient to sit in the verandah in the *grand costume* of a lazzaroni, to go to bed betimes and be up before sunrise. In England, beautiful women and distinguished men throng to the routs, which, it is true, are annoying enough; but here people appear like mere accessories or supplements to nature.

It is said that in the next world men will meet again; shall we meet with nature again, or what will become of it? The idea of a migration through all the worlds has been very often propounded, but it has its difficulties. Why, as the eternity that awaits one is of such prodigious length, be in such haste to be removed into a new class, before one has duly learned one's task here? In that world one may—so much I can well imagine—associate with Plato and Aristotle, with Alexander the Great and Charlemagne, but will those heroes choose to associate with me, as they lose in the same proportion that I gain? Nay, it is not always convenient for myself to appear in grand *parure*, and to be obliged to look down at things. Besides, I am a great deal too much attached to friends and acquaintance who wear a great coat like myself, to exchange them for that superfine *prima sorte* of universal history. If, on the contrary, I am again to meet all the persons of both sexes who have wearied me already upon earth, and to sing Hosanna *unisono* with them the whole live-long day, that prospect is, if any thing, still more frightful. The whole division of

heaven, purgatory, and hell, separates, to be sure, boxes, pit, paradise, and so forth; but I should almost rather solicit a place out of the whole *divina comedia*. Here I am getting again into heresies which I have once before played off in Dresden; but, at any rate, I had rather live in Naples without Dante than in a desert island with him.

As particular nations have their own burial-places on earth, have they their peculiar places of resurrection in the other world? In this case the Babylonian separation continues; in the reverse, a scarcely conceivable intermixture ensues. Upon what principles? — the number of heads, intellectual superiority, order of time? But a fool may ask more questions on this subject than all the wise men put together can answer.

A Calabrese of distinction, with whom I was conversing yesterday about the people of his country, was also totally at a loss how to mix them with other tribes: "Calabria," said he, "is a country absolutely unique in its kind, incomprehensible. Enclosed by two seas, having in the middle a lofty range of mountains, covered for several months in the year with deep snow, no roads or communications between the two divisions, all the trees and productions of the north and of the south, ice and tropical heat at the distance of a few leagues. For hundreds, nay, for thousands of years a culture of a higher, nay, even of a profoundly philosophical,

kind, which in certain circles subsists undiminished to the present day, and at the same time a population rude in the extreme."— "If this rudeness," I remarked, "consists only in this, that the people have not learned to read and write, they have probably received other estimable qualities from an originally bountiful Nature." He replied: "It is not only the rudeness of ignorance, but likewise ferocity of character, which, for instance, perpetuates a bloodthirsty enmity in full force from generation to generation, and regards revenge as a right and a duty."— "This worse than heathen disposition," I rejoined, "must be, if not extirpated, at least softened, by education and by the influence of the nobility and persons of note, who are probably absentees."—"In Calabria it is much more common," he continued, "for people of rank and wealth to reside upon their estates than in any other part of Italy; but they live wholly apart from the people, and have no influence over them. They compose two entirely distinct worlds. I myself, when at Naples, contemplate with horror this ferosity of my countrymen, a barbarism that is not to be found in a like degree in Europe; and again, when I reside for a considerable time in Calabria, kindred tones vibrate in my own mind, and strengthen alike the charge and the excuse."

Naples, July 26th.

YESTERDAY evening I duly received your kind letters of the 11th, and at the same time one from Rome, from ——, confirming what I have long foreseen, namely, that the archives will not be opened to me. The principal passage in the letter runs thus: "With a truly heavy heart, I take up the pen to communicate the not unexpected but not for that reason the less painful intelligence that, under present circumstances, the opening of the archives of the Vatican in behalf of your historical inquiries is not to be expected. Things may after some time take a better form, but unfortunately it is customary to draw particulars concerning persons from sources the origin of which is impure. Count —— shares this view and my regret.

This text is important enough to admit of a few comments. For some years past the papal government has relinquished the system of more liberal communication adopted by Cardinal Consalvi, and returned to the old seclusion and exclusion. Whether the misunderstanding with Prussia has moreover had any share in the above determination of the court of Rome, I shall not pretend to decide, any more than whether the condemnation of my work originates with ——, or with the man who ——, or with Madame de ——. The court of Rome is certainly unjust in classing persons of my sentiments among dangerous or hostile opponents,

and to reckon upon all Protestants painting (like H——) white upon white. I can assert without presumption that my work has operated with more effect and more benefit to produce right and just notions of church and popes in the middle ages than many a publication by over-zealous watchmen of Zion.

The Roman court is not itself capable of appreciating the historical sources of those times; it has too little confidence in its interest and its right, otherwise it would make no secret of those documents, but print and circulate them all over the world. They are, it is true, succeeded by persons and deeds of darker shades. But even there the keeping secret is of no avail; for though the world knows the worst, yet, on account of this very secresy, it imagines that there is something still worse behind; whereas the whole truth explains matters in which there frequently lies, if not a justification, at least an excuse. Besides, the boasted consistency of the court of Rome is not kept up in granting to me in 1817 (when I could adduce nothing in my behalf but my goodwill) what is now refused me; though three illustrious Catholic personages have furnished me with favourable testimonials—the prince-royal (and also the king) of B——, Prince John of S——, and Prince M——. The Great Unknown, be it he or she, has more weight than these men and that which they represent. A sort

of the theological camarilla! Of one thing I am sure, namely, that this refusal will not cause me to say one word more or more harsh against the court of Rome than a feeling of duty and truth would otherwise have suggested. *Sine ira et studio* be in future my motto, as it has been hitherto.

I must now wait to see whether ——, as the Protestant Cerberus, will continue to play the Paroli. I have already told you why I believe that those sources contain little that is really serviceable for my Hohenstaufen, and that all the main points may be left without alteration. I have done all I could, and wash my hands in innocence.

If, after politely giving precedence to politico-historical considerations, I pass to personal matters and the interests of my tour, nothing more agreeable could befall me than this refusal. It carries me away from musty papers into the living present; it raises me to the rank of a baron; it admits of my return in the finest season of the year, and accelerates my wished-for return home, after seeing and learning so much.

Besides, I shall save money by it, and that deserves some consideration, because my journey is not performed at the expense of government, as many have been pleased to say and even to publish, but must be paid for entirely out of my own pocket. But I am very thankful that I was never refused leave of absence, and that sufficient confi-

dence is placed in me to induce a belief that I shall conscientiously employ the leisure which has been granted.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Naples—Summer—Prostitution—Excursion to Ischia.

Naples, July 27th.

I AM this year enjoying, for the first time in my life, a real summer; for oppressively sultry days, alternating with thunder-storms and cooler ones, are but a substitute for, or a resemblance of, genuine summer. For the latter are required a long equable temperature, a serene sky, a light respirable atmosphere, notwithstanding the heat. You ask, if I do not find the middle of the day too hot. Most certainly. But why should I shrink from this sun-bath, or deem it more inconvenient or more dangerous than the oft-extolled Russian vapour-baths? Thus far it agrees perfectly well with me, though I shall come back brown and spare as an Arab. For one is obliged to observe temperance and moderation in an equal degree in regard both to mind and body; and the stomach here requires more time to digest little than a great deal with us. But what one spares in eating and wine is spent in ice and lemonade, and the money for the theatre goes for coach-hire. Or

shall I shut myself up by lamplight, or perhaps even amidst the perfume of garlic, while heaven, earth, and sea, out of doors are performing pieces of a totally different kind?—or listen, out of patriotism, to translated Kotzebueades, or, out of respect for the Italian, to the declamation of the husky Federici?

Drove out again yesterday to Nisita, that road of inexhaustible beauty. A sunset beyond the bay of Bajæ could not have been more beautiful, more brilliant, more splendidly coloured; and to all those lights of heaven, the earth furnishes her deeper tones, the grave fundamental bass — I had rightly calculated the time for returning. Between Castellamare and the hill of St. Angelo, the full moon rose slowly and majestically. Not only were the rays of light flung over the sea, but the vibrations of the organ of the spheres by which old Haydn seemed to prescribe measure and track to the moon fell upon my ear.

I play you nothing but variations of one and the same theme, but what else can I do? In a few weeks I shall be far away from this south, and then I will put a different barrel into my organ. The dissonances which you perhaps miss in these letters you will find by and by plentiful enough in a longer article on Neapolitan affairs.

For very many years, I have not dealt boxes on the ear, but to-day I have dispensed a truly sound

one, namely to a boy, who thrust his hand into my coat-pocket. He concluded from appearances that it contained something worth his while, but found only a large roll of paper—the money was gone to pay for my passage by the steam-vessel. Some days ago, I was well nigh involved in an affair of a more serious kind. As I was going home in the evening, in the most sober and quiet way, two females suddenly turned upon me and bawled at me in the most startling manner. I understood not a syllable of their Neapolitan prestissimo; till a man interfered as *tertius interveniens*, and intimated that he was a champion of the innocence, of which I, Don Juan, would fain have robbed the damsels. Now, as I had neither accosted nor even seen the said damsels, and consequently had complete innocence on my side, I was not to be bullied, and told them that they could not be in their senses, that I was no *minchione*, and that, if they pleased, we would go to the police to settle the matter. Before I had finished speaking, ladies and champion had scampered off different ways. On the following day, a similar trick was attempted on M. von——, probably by the same swindlers of both sexes.

The police has succeeded in clearing the streets of prostitutes. With so much the greater impudence do the pimps, the *ruffiani*, offer their goods, selling a pig in a poke, and cheating buyers and sellers as much as they can. This male interven-

tion, which is almost unknown in other countries, has in it something excessively disgusting, and, as dealing at second-hand in human flesh, is equally repulsive to morality and good taste. Foundling hospitals, street-beggary, and pimps, nevertheless, find alike defenders, at least as minor evils. To me, on the other hand, they appear to be the greater.

July 29th.

Yesterday was a hot but yet a pleasant day. Early in the morning I set out in the steam-vessel, La Furia, for Ischia, and returned in the evening. We coasted, of course, along the beautiful bay of Naples, to Nisita, then passed the bay of Bajæ, with the prospect of Puzzuoli, Monte Nuovo, and Bajæ, left Cape Misenum on one side, to the road of Procida (where passengers are landed and taken on board) lastly were set ashore near Casamiciola in Ischia, and ascended the hill to the tavern of La Sentinella. The noontide hours were intensely hot in the narrow roads of Ischia, but the many exquisite views of the carefully cultivated island, and its summit, the Epomeo, as also of the distant islands and coasts, afford some compensation. The cooler return and its conclusion by moonlight proved the more agreeable.

On the outward passage, I heard a lady speaking German and accosted her. She was a Swiss woman of prodigious size, who had been settled for many years in Rome, but was not at all satisfied

with the Germans there. She declared that, in fact, nothing but hatred and envy prevailed among them, and that not a trace of the boasted qualities of their nation was to be perceived.

When the men belonging to the steamer laid hold of her in the usual way, and would have carried her out of the boat to the shore, she plied her fists so vigorously, that (though these fellows are in general able to put up with a great deal) they almost lost their temper. They were obliged, therefore, to bring an ass close to the gunwale of the boat; she turned her huge rotundity outwards, and, untouched by male hands, clapped herself down in the appropriate saddle of her sex. Some other ladies chose rather to trust themselves to the arms of the men than to an ass, and thus picturesque groups of a different kind were formed.

July 30th.

I learn from daily experience that the most needful quality of a traveller is not to wish to see everything, otherwise he lives in constant uneasiness, and does not accomplish his purpose at last. A forced resignation, however, very often takes the place of this wise and calm content. Thus, to-day, Professor W——, from Rome, who proposed to call for me at four in the morning to go with him to Pompeji, was left in the lurch by the man who was to drive us thither, and it is doubtful whether better luck awaits us to-morrow.

It admits of a question which affords most pleasure, to plan travels, or to travel. The former preliminary business costs no efforts, no money, presents much more variety and change. On the other hand, a hundred possibilities do not make a reality. Again, it is not to be denied that many a one learns more from serious preparations for a journey, than many travellers who have actually been whirled along, breathed foreign air, eaten foreign bread, and slept in foreign beds.

I hope that the heat of Brandenburg agrees as well with you as that of Naples does with me. You will be killed by the heat in Sicily, say some. You will be killed by robbers, cry others. In the former event, the latter cannot take place, and *vice versa*. I have no fear of either of these dangers, and shall only beware of the slow and tedious riding upon asses in the sunshine. Palermo, Messina, Catanea, a bit of Etna, perhaps somewhat of Syracuse—*basta per me*. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, nor should one affect enthusiasm for things which lie out of one's own line.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Naples—The Studj—Pompeji.

Naples, August 3rd. (the king's birthday).

At present only a few particulars of my daily history. On the 29th of July, M. T— introduced me to Mazzetti, Archbishop of Seleucia, who is at

the head of a commission of instruction, and has with great courage set his face against many useless things. His general plan of instruction contains much that is good and well-meant; but, as he is for altering the present system in almost all its parts, and rarely adopts any portion of it, he cannot fail to meet with insurmountable obstacles. Gradual development has in general accomplished more than what is termed total regeneration. There is much in this plan, too, that to me is unaccountable; that, for instance, all real knowledge must be acquired at the lyceums, but the positive excluded from the universities. In the latter, of course, no history, but only a sort of philosophy of history, &c., so that, upon the whole, the merely general, (often only abstract,) is considered as the more important. But you may some day read all this yourself in his work, if you please.

On the 30th to the Studj. The naked men stand about everywhere for inspection; the naked women are shut up in a separate room. Scarcely one solid reason can be assigned for this regulation, though it might furnish occasion for abundance of pleasantries. In that room, then, there are ten Venuses, seven *à la Venus Medicis*, two sitting, and the one looking behind her. Hence, it appears that certain master-pieces have been imitated numberless times by inferior artists, and that there were very few real originals. The seven above-

mentioned are in part ugly portrait-statues of women who ought to cover themselves, and only one resembles that of the Capitol. The Καλλιπυγη is, in fact, not a Venus, but only a very handsome female, who is proud of the beauty of her sitting part, and at the same time, perhaps, is striving to catch a flea.

On the 31st, with W—— and two painters, to Pompeji, another hot, but supportable, and instructive day, in shirt sleeves, and with umbrella. Once more I transported myself into the mode of life of those times when people cared but little about the streets, and when the colonnade around a public place was more important than the house. The paintings here, and those which have been removed to Naples, have perhaps been overrated by some; certainly there are wretched and tasteless things among them. They nevertheless attest a love for the art, extraordinary practice, and a lively conception. In no modern provincial town would so much that is remarkable have been found, and then again, that which has been found cannot be taken as the standard for antique painting. The painters who wrought at Pompeji bear much the same proportion to Zeuxis and Apelles as Pompeji does to Athens and Corinth. The mosaic representing Alexander and Darius is certainly copied from some other work, and there is perhaps nothing more perfect in this kind, but yet objections might be made to particular points, from the car or the

wheel of it to the head of Alexander, if my periodical on the arts had not been dropped for want of encouragement.

LETTER XC.

Passage to Palermo—Flora—Santa Maria di Gesu—Duke of Serradifalco—Monreale.

Palermo, August 6th.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 4th of August, I set out from Naples, arrived here at eight in the morning, on the 5th, and took up my quarters at M. Giacquieri's. The passage was favourable, and without any volcanic eruptions, but I was rather unwell in consequence of the tremulous motion of the Marie Christine. It affects the nerves, so that I went about the whole day on *terra firma*, as though it had not been *firm*. At daybreak, I went to the head of the vessel, that I might see without obstruction the coast of Sicily rising out of the sea. A great diversity of fantastic *lines*, (as the Romans say) of hills and mountains—beautiful colours—but mostly bare and treeless. Palermo situated in the plain, three-fourths of the circle encompassed by hills, one-fourth open towards the sea; on the left, Monte Pellegrino, with the chapel of St. Rosalia. The city has not the appearance of a thriving place, and, besides the two main streets intersecting one another, few worthy of mention. The promenade along the sea is fine, but simple and

insignificant in comparison with the drive from the Chiaja to Puzzuoli; and the horses and the carriages too are surpassed by the Neapolitan. The Flora, so highly spoken of, is a regularly laid out, level, enclosed garden, adorned with the more southern plants of these countries, but without any prospect. Instead of the nymphs, elves, and dryads, that I hoped to find here yesterday evening, there were only ecclesiastics and monks, walking up and down in all colours, black, half-black, speckled, white, brown. If there are really sixty-seven convents in the city, and among them, many of mendicant friars, it is but natural that one should see as many monks here, as soldiers with us. Palermo has, undoubtedly, a fine situation, but to prefer it to that of Naples argues, in my opinion, a faulty taste or exaggerated patriotism.

August 7th.

As the post and letters will not go off till morning, I shall add a few words. The day before yesterday, the first of my abode here, I ran about during the heat of the day with a lacquey (indispensable on this occasion) through the whole city, and in the evening went, as I have already mentioned, to the promenade and the Flora. This, however, was a quiet day in comparison with yesterday. I rose at four in the morning, for the purpose of driving out before the heat commenced, with M. W——, the very kind Prussian consul, and his

brother, to the Capuchin convent of Santa Maria di Gesu. The aloe, the cactus, or Indian fig, and some other southern plants which were associated with the vine, the olive, the orange, and the cypress, showed that I had almost arrived at the end of my journey. Some steep chalk-stone walls alone were bare, but beautifully-coloured red and yellow; with these exceptions, the whole side of the hill was so covered with plants and trees, that I was anew confirmed in the conviction that the nakedness of hills is more frequently owing to the fault and neglect of man, than a necessary consequence of natural defects. The feeling and taste of the monks in the selection of a site for their convent were shown here as in so many other places. It commands an extensive and beautiful view over Palermo and Monreale, as far as the range of hills that lie behind the Pellegrino and the sea. On my return from this excursion, I set out on a second with the lacquey, made some instructive acquaintances, missed other persons, and found others again in bed at eleven o'clock. I conceived that people here rose early, slept a good deal in the day-time, and went to bed late. On the latter point alone I was right: they sleep but little in the day, and to early rising they are utter strangers. The bustle in the streets, too, commences much earlier in Naples than here.

A half decayed fresco painting by Monreale in a

convent was wonderfully fresh and beautiful: other martyrdoms of his which I afterwards saw were far less attractive, and had even become much darker. Five or six churches, modern, gaudy, not worthy of mention. So much the more characteristic Roger's chapel in the castle, more Latin than Grecian in form, but just like St. Mark's at Venice in mosaic-work and style.

The Duke of Serradifalco, (upon whom I called a second time, and who had likewise missed me) received me in the most cordial manner. His offer to take me in his carriage to Monreale was the more welcome as he has published an admirable work on the church there, and is consequently by far the best guide. The church itself is a most remarkable structure: the part of it that was burned is mostly rebuilt, and exactly in the former style. To a church in the form of a Greek cross is annexed a sort of basilica. Above the pillars and arches, the walls entirely covered with mosaic, as in Venice. Among other things, King William is represented as being crowned by Christ, to indicate that he did not receive his crown from the pope. I abstain from further description. You will see from the work of the Duke of Serradifalco how much was done in this country in the department of the arts so early as the end of the twelfth century.

LETTER XCI.

Palermo—Temperature—Portrait of Frederick Barbarossa—Library—Antiquities—University—Ball—Cathedral—Lunatic Hospital—Mendicants' Asylum.

Palermo, August 8th.

I shall continue my simple reports. The thunderstorm of the day before yesterday was followed yesterday, contrary to the expectation of the Palermitans with whom I conversed, by another of greater violence, so that the atmosphere is much cooled, the thermometer at six o'clock this morning indicating only 17° (70° F.) and at noon 23° (84° F.). Many insist that, with the exception of the sirocco days, which are described as being very oppressive, the heat here is not so great as in Naples, and I must agree with them as far as my experience goes. Possibly, however, a storm may have produced the same effect in Naples; and that assertion would hardly hold good in regard to the average temperature of the whole year. People here are in general disposed to assign a lower degree to the local heat, just as they do in the north to the cold, because both, viewed from different points, are considered as evils. *Ne quid nimis!*

Yesterday M. A —— G——, a respectable Sicilian scholar, fetched me, in the first place to show me a portrait of the Emperor Frederick II., which he had had copied from a picture in San Martino. He

considered it as genuine, a good likeness, and well executed. In this opinion I could not coincide; nay, I was disgusted with the face, which seemed by no means to represent a man of superior understanding and noble mind, but rather a clownish fellow. The wish to see something ideal, something beautiful, was certainly not a sufficient ground for denying the genuineness of the picture. But my feeling was supported by other reasons. In the first place, the portrait was not at all in the style of the thirteenth century. M. G—— remarked that the reputed original in San Martino was probably of the seventeenth century. In this case, then, we should have but the copy of a modern copy, which exhibits not the least trace of the adoption and imitation of an older form and style. In the second place, the picture bears no resemblance to the genuine Augustals, nor to my ring engraved after the contemporary statue of Frederick II. at Capua. On the other hand, the Augustals and the ring agree in all the essentials, and must decide as to Frederick's face, and the rejection of that picture.

On another point, too, my opinion differed from G——'s. He maintains that a lamentation of Peter de Vinea from his prison is genuine, and was composed by himself. To me, on the contrary, it appears to be the bungling performance of some later divine; for, in the first place, it manifests none of

Peter's previous energy; and in the second, it contains nothing but phrases, *verba prætereaque nihil*, without the slightest reference to facts and personal circumstances. In the third place, it appears to me to be for the most part an amplification and dilution of the well-known passage in Dante, which the later author must, as I conceive, have had before his eyes. Granting, however, that this lamentation is genuine, we learn from it nothing for history.

M. G—— then took me to the library, where I had occasion to make the important remark that literature here covers its nakedness more commonly with hog-skin, as it does among us with calf-skin. I looked with due devotion at some manuscripts of laws and chronicles, and rejoiced most disinterestedly that their contents were destined for the literary labourer of later ages, or have already been submitted in print to the world. The library and its revenues have arisen in part from the donations of the liberal. It seems to be well-arranged and much frequented. The lending of books is, of course, out of the question.

The abbate M—— then took me to the architectural remains and sculptures, mostly brought hither from Selinus. The latter show the progress of development from extreme rudeness to a high degree of perfection. It was a novelty to me to see face, hands, and feet of white marble attached to stone statues of female figures. Here, too, we

plainly perceive that the application of colours to sculptures was by no means rejected by the ancients, but frequently approved and adopted.

Now for the university, in the buildings of which are deposited a collection of partly valuable paintings, and another of plaster casts. A programme of the lectures is not printed (any more than with us for the schools) because the limited subjects usually remain unchanged. In the forenoon are generally held two lectures of an hour and a half each, but in the afternoon only one. I shall not repeat remarks already made on the Italian universities. Those who accompanied me related that the theological faculty (or the fragment that may be so called) is placed below that of the law. The salary of the professors is, with few exceptions, very low, mostly 240 dollars per annum.

I dined yesterday and passed a very agreeable afternoon with M. W—— the consul, and went in the evening to a ball at the Duke of ——'s. Luckily, I had not left shoes and stockings and the other articles belonging to an old man's costume behind in Naples. The arrangements of the ball deserved praise in every respect. The inner court, a large hall, the principal entrance to the garden, tastefully illuminated with lamps, the saloons and apartments spacious, and likewise brilliantly lighted with wax-candles, works of art of various kinds dispersed here and there, cooling beverages and ice in super-

abundance, a well-furnished table beyond the illuminated hall, good music, &c. The gentlemen in general in black coats, white waistcoats, and breeches; the ladies dressed as they now are every where in Europe; waltzes and country-dances. Some of the ladies, married and single, very handsome, many insignificant: in stature rather short and stout, than tall and spare. The Duchess of Berry, too, much stouter than formerly, whether from grief and sorrow, or some other cause, I cannot tell.

August 8th, evening.

After I had worked hard and written the foregoing to you, I rode with Prince G—— to the lunatic hospital, the mendicants' asylum, the Zisa, the ancient palace of the Saracens, and the tombs of the emperors in the cathedral. Very different — but the frail and perishable nature of what is human apparent in all. Of the porphyry coffins, that of Frederick II. exhibits the finest workmanship; and how pitiful, that, at a subsequent period, for the sake of economy, another royal corpse, that of a king of Aragon, was laid along with him in the narrow space, to share it peaceably with him till the last day. Of the original Arabian forms and decorations of the Zisa scarcely a vestige is left, what with repairs, alterations, and decay. The view, uninterrupted on all sides, from the centre of the plain of Palermo, is, on the other hand, ever young and ever beautiful.

Of idiots and maniacs, there is here, owing to the same causes as in every other country, one third more men than women, few raving, many gentle enough, more rarely deprived of reason by drunkenness than in the north. Every thing cleanly, orderly; treatment mild; the institution improved, or rather created anew, by the Baron Pisani. Force employed only in cases of extreme emergency; patience in the highest degree; rather psychological and moral than any other means; never ridicule or excitements to anger.

The suppression of mendicity in Palermo, with the exception of the begging monks and very few others, deserves the greatest praise, and distinguishes this city from most of the towns of Italy. For the reception of beggars, male and female, boys and girls, separate houses are established or divisions made. They are universally commended for order, honesty, cleanliness, industry, and excellent management of the funds, and as far as those things can be perceived or inferred from inspection, I must award this praise to the girl's house, the only one that I have seen. When, however, I started some objections of a different kind, a sub-inspector, though a native of Germany, told me, his half countryman, that I knew nothing at all about the matter and never should be any the wiser. I thought it not more advisable to quarrel with this very irritable man, than to believe him on his word. For the

question was not about local knowledge but general principles, which are the same all the world over; for instance, if, when more persons go into a house than out of it, the number within increases or decreases; whether 100 is more than 20, or less, &c. The point namely is this: The beggars, or (let us confine ourselves to the girls) the beggar-girls, are taken up and then in general sent to that house. If they have no parents, they may be considered as orphans, and the institution as an orphan-house. On putting further questions, I learned that, into this institution, which has subsisted only a few years, many more are continually admitted than are discharged from it, so that the number is gradually on the increase. And this must be the case, for the grounds of admission are endless, and no term is fixed for abode in the house. Thus there is no specific time by way of punishment, or as the period necessary for education, nor a certain age, nor majority, &c. Every year very few obtain by lot a small dowry, for the sake of which they are sought in marriage; but departures of this or any other kind are rare in comparison with the admissions, and in this way the institution for children will gradually come to comprehend females of every sex up to very old maids.

I will not repeat what might be urged against giving dowries to girls out of public funds in general: certainly marriages contracted merely for the

sake of such a gift rest on a bad foundation, and are a natural nursery of future want. If I consider reception into a house of this kind as a punishment for beggary, this punishment ought to have measure and limit; if I consider it as a charity, then neither can this (as, for instance, the orphan-houses prove) extend to the whole life; but the greatest mistake of all is the notion that the government and a few benevolent overseers can and ought to be the guardians and task-masters of innumerable paupers, because there is a want of work. The individual ought rather to be set on his own legs, and that should be allotted to him and to families, which these great barracks for education and expensive playthings of the manufacturing system never can supply. Without limitation of admission, without a fixed time for discharge, the number will, as I have observed, increase prodigiously; and as the expenses cannot be provided for, the old system of begging will be revived on a larger scale than ever. The well-meant institution is transformed into a sort of foundling hospital for children of greater age. Thus much in vindication of my scruples, which, as I afterwards found, by no means all the Palermitans regard as stupid; many, on the contrary, participate in them, nay, the city already begins to oppose further considerable payments. Heaven forbid that, for want of a particular destination, the praiseworthy object should miscarry, and the ancient evil return!

CHAPTER XCII.

Palermo — Monte Pellegrino — St. Rosalia — The Observatory and Botanical Garden — Evening Party.

Palermo, August 10th.

YESTERDAY I was up before light, mounted a donkey which the very obliging Duke of Serradifalco had sent me, and rode out of the city over the plain to Monte Pellegrino, which suddenly rose like an island before me. The road leads in a zig-zag, and partly on under-ground arches, up to the chapel of St. Rosalia. Here I alighted and ascended by a difficult and unfrequented path to a peak, which commands an extensive prospect of the nearest mountains, the sea which lies beneath, the city and plain of Palermo, and the more distant ranges of hills of various forms. The immediate environs, on the other hand, reminded me of Radicofani; only the desert is more extensive and wilder, and in order not to be behindhand with the crude forms and pointed crags of rock that every where protrude, the vegetable kingdom has taken possession of every handful of mould, and thrown out innumerable (but at this moment dry) thistles. In such a wilderness lies the grotto to which St. Rosalia retreated.

I will not throw doubts in Palermo upon what the Palermitans believe. The mythology of many

christian saints rests on no better foundation than the mythology of pagan heroes. Instead, however, of applying on this occasion the cold, critical knife, and cutting off and flinging away the best of the legend, I could not help thinking that the Palermitans show an honourable feeling of gratitude, and the praiseworthy disposition, which is gradually becoming more rare, to recognize in the deification of a particular person something higher above them. The saint, dressed in cloth of gold, is represented reclining, with one hand supporting her head, and the other lying upon her breast, and holding crucifix and pilgrim's staff. On looking through the bars into the farther half-lighted part of the cavern, it is only by degrees that the eye discerns outline and features, so that many circumstances concur to produce a strong and peculiar impression. I was reminded involuntarily, but most decidedly, of Guilelmo della Porta's wonderful female in St. Peter's. There, the highest splendour of earthly beauty; and from the energy of her own bosom bursts forth all the poetry of bold passions; here, the forms of the face have remained, but, instead of an innate energy forcing its way out, a profounder peace is infused into the soul, and the joys and griefs of this life seem to lie far behind, after the regeneration for another world, heightening and softening mortal beauty, has taken place.

The heat was very great. I descended the moun-

tain on foot, enjoyed the prospects which every turn of the way presented, and purposed after this exertion to rest for a few hours, or at least to give the reins to my thoughts. It was decreed, however, that I should employ my limited time more conscientiously. The principe G—— took me with him to the Observatory, where I made the acquaintance of M. Cacciatore, and had an extensive view over the city and environs. The beautifully-situated botanical garden has many southern plants growing in the open air, but it has been found necessary to erect a hothouse also for tropical vegetables.

At ten in the evening, I was fetched by ——— to a brilliant party at ——, where there was a great deal of dancing to a Vienna piano-forte. I could have imagined myself in Berlin, Vienna, London, &c., so little of any thing peculiar to Sicily was there to be perceived. I looked about sharply after handsome ladies; but here you must seek in order rarely to find; whereas in London, and in our country too, you find without seeking. About one o'clock I went home, and rose at six to give you a report of all this in a temperature of 20° (77° F).

You often imagine that, according to our proverb, you have got hold of all the ends, and yet have missed one, and in consequence all that you are carrying is spilt or broken. Thus have I fared with the plan for travelling through the interior of the island. I had been already rendered doubtful

by the unanimous declaration of all Sicilians, that in this way there was nothing whatever to be seen; but the matter was decided by the remark of the principe S—— that I should suffer so much from the carriage that I must arrive half dead. I had not yet taken the nature of this carriage into serious consideration; I was told that it was a close carriage, much like a post-chaise, with a back seat, so small that the four persons crammed into it could not move either hand or foot. To sit in this cramped position for one day and two nights, at this season of the year, would certainly be a most severe punishment: the only course I had left, therefore, was to have recourse to the sea. At six this evening I shall set out for Messina in the steamer Marie Christine.

LETTER XCIII.

Passage to Messina — Aspect of the City — Poverty of the Nobles of Palermo — Travelling Companions — Environs of Messina.

Messina, August 12th.

THE steamer was to start, as I was told on the 10th, at six o'clock precisely, but she did not begin to move till about half-past seven. Around me presently commenced a lamentable medley of sighs and moans and ——; but, in spite of these ex-

amples, and though exposed to the influence of the same cause, I was not at all affected, and was able to remain on deck till late in the beautiful, warm, starry night. This I was the more inclined to do, as my birth had been assigned me in a real *inferno baratro*, under the principal cabin. I preferred lying on a small mattress in the middle of the floor of the latter, and slept better than I expected, but was on deck again by daybreak. Beyond the Lipari islands, most of which rise from the sea in the form of broad-based cones, the first tinge of dawn began to appear; before me lay Calabria, like a misty stripe; to the right, but rather more clearly defined, the north coast of Sicily. As we approached St. Agatha and Cape Orlando, the sun had already risen on the left, and I could perceive with the naked eye, and still better with my Vienna glass, that the forms of the hills, vales, and ravines, were diversified, and that the country in general had not the dry and naked aspect of that about Palermo. Brolo, Calava, Piatti, Melazzo, Rosacolmo, Faro, passed in pleasing succession before me, and the steep mountains of Calabria formed the back-ground till we entered the strait of Messina. Scylla and Charybdis showed an agitation which heightened the diversity of the play of colours in the blue sea; as to danger for a vessel of the size of our's, that was out of the question. Messina rose by degrees from the sea, backed by high hills, with a distinct

view of the Calabrian coast, which is less bold here. Very beautiful no doubt; but I must confess that all I have seen in Sicily is inferior to Naples, and only strengthens my predilection for that city and its environs. Messina produces the impression of a busy commercial place, where the *tiers état* of course has the preponderance. Palermo, on the contrary, wears the appearance of an ancient, sinking capital, where the nobility itself is on the decline, and almost all are grumbling, with or without reason. I know not whether it be true or not, but I was told by several Palermitans, that some of the *principi* who drive about there scarcely know how to find themselves a dinner, and that the jewels which they wear in company must first be redeemed with great difficulty from the pawnbroker. I am assured from various quarters that many who are wealthy and not in debt have scarcely ever seen their estates, and never attend to the management of them. Of course, observed another, because they are too fond of the conveniences of a town life to travel thither by unfrequented tracks, and to transport all they want and don't want to and fro on the backs of innumerable asses and mules.

In the steam-vessel I met with two Frenchmen, M. Malherbe, a naturalist from Metz, and a young Count du Prat, well informed and a man of correct judgment; that is to say, his opinions and mine in general coincided respecting what we had seen in our

travels. Want of accommodation brought us both into one room yesterday, and all three this evening into the same carriage together.

You, at a distance, will have much fault to find with my travelling plans and their execution; here, however, you cannot travel as you please, but are forced to adopt this or that course. This you will perceive from the following dialogue with my intelligent host.

We wish to set off this evening or early in the morning.—Impossible, because this is Sunday, and you cannot get back your passports before noon to-morrow.—We wish to have a driver to take us to Taormina and thence to Catanea.—Impossible, for on account of the festival of Messina, there is not a driver to be got.—We wish to travel extra-post.—Impossible, as you have not your own carriage; the post supplies none, and does not stop at Taormina.—We wish to go by steamer to Catanea.—Impossible, because the steamer does not touch at Catanea.

So we were obliged to stay six days in Messina, where we could have done all our business in six hours, or avail ourselves of the accidental extraordinary opportunity of a post-coach going off this evening to Catanea. The ordinary one has but two places; both were engaged, and supplementary vehicles are utterly unknown here.

There came with us a French count, eighty-two

years old, attended by an already venerable chamber-maid, a perfect picture of the *ancien régime*. Powdered hair, large frill, ruffles, &c., and withal a man of extraordinary activity and extraordinary appetite. Yesterday evening he had wrapped himself in a long and handsome morning gown, but hearing goats bleating in the street, he conceived a great fancy for some new milk. He ran, therefore, to the balcony, and bawled as loud as he could, *Capre, capre!* All eyes below were instantly upon him, and loud laughter and jokes of all sorts ensued. In his hurry, the good man had stretched out his arms, his wide morning gown followed this example, and there he stood stark-naked before the venerable public in the street, shouting for goats.

This circumstance brings to my recollection another story which Prince L—— of S—— related from official accounts. A man elegantly but showily dressed, richly provided with watches and chains, hired a bathing-machine, undressed, and plunged into the sea. Meanwhile, a rogue who had watched him plunged into the sea too, got into the machine from below, put on the clothes, pocketed money and watches, and quietly went his way. The attendant admitted another into the machine, and when the latter was about to descend from it into the sea, he met the first occupant coming into it again. A violent altercation took place, till the affair was explained, and a mean dress was with

difficulty procured to enable the person who had been robbed to return to his lodgings.

Early this morning, I walked with Du Prat through all the principal streets, saw a singular medley of ancient and modern in the cathedral, and then enjoyed, from the lofty old tower, a delicious prospect of land, city, and sea. Towards the interior of the country, hills and mountains, with small intervening declivities, rise irregularly one above another; the houses, roofed entirely with tiles, exhibit none of the peculiarities of southern towns. Towards the Faro the soil is flat and sandy; the coast of Calabria is higher and steeper on the left, but declines towards Reggio; between is the Strait. All very beautiful, though I scarcely know wherein the beauty consists; by no means the romantic, fantastic impression produced by Naples. We shall get away as the festivals are beginning. What a scandal! But church festivals, and military festivals, and what are called popular festivals, are alike tedious in such repetitions; and to throw away a fortnight for the sake of enjoying six festival days would be too much for me in heaven itself. I am glad to follow the example of the Dutchman whom I saw at Trieste, and who ran away whenever he merely heard mention made of processions and festivals.

We have just been taken to the police-office. I have now three passports, one from Berlin for the

whole tour, a Neapolitan for all Sicily, and a Palermitan for half Sicily. As neither description of the person nor the signature is annexed, and no certificate is furnished on delivering up the passport, the obligation itself to run to the office is a useless annoyance.

LETTER XCIV.

Journey from Messina to Catanea—Attempted Ascent of Etna—Syracuse.

Syracuse, August 17th.

O, THRICE-BLESSED Naples! take me, repentant prodigal, again to thy bosom! Never will I again suffer myself to be enticed to forsake thee, and to seek elsewhere that which thou so bountifully bestowest of far superior quality! That sounds, you will say, not like a voluntary hymn, but like the ejaculation of a discontented man, one who is out of humour. And so it really is, or at least something very like it, as the following *species facti* will more clearly show. About nine in the evening of Monday, the 10th of August, we took our places in the carriage to proceed from Messina to Catanea. The carriage was certainly large enough to permit us to stretch our legs, the horses spirited, but the roads so bad that in the first five minutes one would have been flung from an English outside. Even in the

night it was so light that we could plainly distinguish the high rocks of Taormina, and its position from bottom to top. We saw the sun rise from the beautifully situated Sciarra, and then pursued our way to Jacireale, having on one side the lofty and threatening Etna. *Siamo la dogana*, (and this word I had already heard numberless times,) said a red-nosed fellow, and he took the regular fee for not doing his duty. *Siamo la dogana*, cried three fellows a hundred paces off, and insisted that those we had just passed were not authorised to receive the dues. I lost all patience, and replied that we would pay them nothing, but they might examine as much as they pleased; and that I would inquire of the authorities if their conduct was correct. They deemed it prudent to withdraw into the shade without searching and without fee.

The unsightly desolating torrents of lava extend to Catanea. The town itself has broad, straight streets, and there are not a few considerable buildings; but the whole produces neither a cheerful nor a brilliant effect. There is something unfinished and mean throughout; but shop stands close to shop, and workshop to workshop; but in many a one are to be found only a shoemaker's awl and two pennyworth of leather, and in many another only a tailor's needle and two pennyworth of cloth. With the contents of a single shop in Oxford Street or the Strand, I would buy a whole street in Ca-

tanea. So much the greater abundance is there of ecclesiastics, monks, nuns, convents, and bells are ringing and tolling from morning till night. The people were busily preparing for the great festival, which follows that of Messina. To us, recollecting what we had seen elsewhere, these preparations appeared paltry, nay, many of them resembled the decorations of a provincial theatre.

Out of modesty or indolence, I deemed myself incapable or unworthy to ascend Etna, and this time I was nearer the mark than in my opinion on the festival. The first plan, to start after dinner, about two o'clock, and to ride up the mountain for twelve hours together, and in the night upon a mule, and then climb two hours more till sunrise—this awful plan I rejected in the most decided manner. A second proposal was then made—to set out early in the morning, so as to reach the *Casa dei Inglesi* by evening, to sleep there and to climb the rest of the way, from three to half-past four. After many objections, I suffered myself to be persuaded, and at five in the morning of the 14th of August, we—that is to say, Du Prat, Malherbe, and I—mounted horses and mules. I had represented to myself the cultivated region of the mountain as a paradise of oranges, figs, grapes, fantastic habitations, charming females, &c. This was an egregious mistake: you ascend mostly between walls, now and then getting a glimpse, sometimes of trees, at others

of lava, nothing beautiful, nothing picturesque. The woody region succeeds. Noble trunks of very ancient oaks, but despoiled of their crowns, applied, like willows, to every sort of unworthy use, and headed down. More and more of these witnesses of antiquity are annually felled, and the selfish improvident race never thinks of planting even a single tree, so that the desert at top will soon completely conquer the middle region. After the most laborious efforts, we reached the *Casa dei Inglesi*, and the question naturally was whether we were to climb to the summit on the following morning. Of course—you will say from your sofa. We came to a different conclusion. Respiration became very difficult at this height, the eyes smarted, the lips were swollen and painful, the hands purple, the face still darker, and in two days we had twice to endure a variation of 30°, that is to say, from 5° to 35° Reaumur (68° F. from 43° to 111°.)

We prepared to lie down, but there were only two small mattresses and as many small pillows for three persons, and, instead of pulling off our clothes, we were obliged to heap all we had upon us to keep ourselves warm. The middle place fell to my share, in regard to warmth evidently the best; but I was so wedged in that I could not move either hand or foot. Then again the two mattresses and the two pillows parted from one another, so that, rousing up through sheer numbness, I found

that I was lying on the bare boards, and that two brooms, placed underneath to raise the head of the bed, were my pillow. My mouth and tongue were parched, and nothing but my last remaining lozenge afforded me some relief. Friend B—, you must know, presented me in his own name and that of his family with a box of Berlin lozenges to take with me, and these I used only on extraordinary occasions.

The last of them I had till now carefully preserved, but thought that I could not do better than resort to it in this doleful night. Sleep was out of the question, especially as the mules kept up such a trampling and stamping. At length, about midnight, our chief guide came to inform us that one of the mules could not survive the fatigue, and that he must ride away with the second, to save its life by bleeding, and if possible to procure other beasts.

On rising we were quite stiff, and unanimously of opinion that it would be better to watch the sun rise from some promontory of the mountain and to obtain a view of three-fourths of the circle, than, by climbing higher, to knock ourselves up, or at any rate increase our sufferings more than our pleasures. The summit of the mountain was moreover enveloped in clouds and afforded no promise of a view.

For the rest, I found what I have so often said about bird's-eye views, and what I had asserted the

day before, completely verified. That from Etna may, it is true, be the most extensive and the most remarkable of all; and it may justly be objected that I have seen but three-fourths of the whole prospect, and not seen the shadow of Etna either in the air or stretched over the land. But, at a greater height, objects become more indistinct and more foreshortened. You see, as behind a curtain, a lighter or a darker patch, a speck of green, or a speck of yellow, and then you are told, That speck is Catanea, and that other, of the size of a sixpence, Syracuse, &c. How if we were to show a man a beautiful woman at such a distance, and then desire him to fall down and worship? If the devil ever means to tempt me, he must not show me landscapes in bird's-eye perspective and as if on a map. That the artist cannot avail himself of such views is a proof that they are not the most beautiful, and to Etna, the Brocken, the Schneekuppe, &c., I very far prefer Vesuvius, the Rigi, Salzburg, Edinburgh, Bamberg, the Camaldoli, &c. You have there, in general, something above, something else facing, and something different again below you; or you see composition, outline, colour, light, shade, much more diversified and beautiful.

Accordingly, after we had seen the sun rise like a globe of fire, without the accompaniment of splendid clouds, and had viewed Sicily through the veil of misty vapour, we went to the *Valle dei Buoi*.

Figure to yourself a Swiss valley, burnt up so that not a tree, not a shrub, not a blade of grass, not a drop of water, not a human being, not a house, not a brute animal, is left upon it, and you will have a picture of that valley. I wrote to you about the deserts of Radicofani and Pellegrino: they are but a thimbleful in comparison with the masses of Etna. There you see at least rocks, stones, forms, colours, crystallisations; in this kitchen of the devil, on the contrary, every thing appears shapeless and colourless. Is is chaos, but not the undeveloped matter of all forms; it is the death of all living things; a repulsive negation of nature and of mind. Fire-worshipping naturalists may commit idolatry with these fire-vomiting mountains; to me they appear rather as vents, by which nature strives to eject excrementitious matter. Let those who please examine it, reverence it, carry it about them, like that of the Dalai Lama; it is no vocation of mine.

Now for the descent from the mountain. I was prepared for inconveniences, but found ten times worse than I had imagined. From weariness and exhaustion, my horse made a false step every ten paces, which was not only in the highest degree unpleasant, but likewise dangerous. I pushed forward, therefore, on foot, for some hours in the hottest part of the day, and at length flung myself down exhausted under a tree to wait for those who were behind. Here, however, I fared as I once

did with friend H—, for inordinate admiration of nature. As in the elysium of Halle, so in that of Sicily, the ants came to visit me in great numbers. Again on horseback; 35° (112° F.) in the sun, to which I was exposed, and such pains in the sinews of the legs from incessant jolting and jarring, that I could have roared outright. Only that part of the body which usually rebels first against such tasks, and puts on the red Jacobin cap, behaved quietly, and displayed laudable firmness. Luckily, we had ordered a carriage to meet us at Nicolosi. That, on my return to Catanea, I felt no inclination to pay visits you will think perfectly natural. During the day, too, I had time to rest only a couple of hours, and after dark to sleep for the same time, for, about midnight, between the 15th and 16th of August, I was seated in a litter with Du Prat, and on the way to Syracuse. Such a litter is in reality a sedan for two persons who sit opposite to each other. One mule goes before, another behind in the shafts, and a third carries the baggage. A prodigious tinkling of bells keeps the animals lively and in step; the sedan, however, swags so violently that many become sea-sick. We ailed nothing, and found ourselves extremely comfortable in comparison with the preceding day. But for this comparison, the dark side would have appeared a great deal darker. To be sure, one frequently sees the Mediterranean and Etna, and both

are respectable ingredients for a landscape; but in itself this, from Catanea to Syracuse, is a desert covered with rocks and thistles, through which glide the gray snakes of bald chalk hills. A country so hideous and wretched that one would gladly give money not to see it.

Sicily may in all ages have produced corn, and formerly in greater abundance than now; but upon the whole the soil of the island is not fertile like that of Lombardy, Belgium, the Golden Aue, and the like. The sweltering sirocco was blowing as we entered the modern Syracuse (we almost imagined it to be an indispensable accessory) quarrelled with the landlord, were furnished for five francs with as much to eat as in Paris would have cost us two, and entertained with panegyrics on the wondrous things that we should see on this the 17th day of August.

At five in the morning we set out under the guidance of a servant of the Cavaliere Landolina's, who was soon joined by other conductors, who, in solo, duo, and trio, served up to us a medley of truth and fiction. We inspected the remains of the theatre and amphitheatre, the cisterns and the street-pavement, the stone-quarries, and the ear of Dionysius, as well as the town and its environs, according to its ancient and modern divisions. I will not describe for the hundred and first time that which has been already described one hundred

times: what one now sees is evidently but a shadow of what once was. A surprising city, a prodigious activity, even rejecting much as exaggeration. On a small space Syracuse has done as much in proportion as Rome, the mistress of the world, with infinitely greater resources, and besides under governments that were worse than the present. Who can solve this enigma? The afflicting idea forces itself upon me, that, when temples and aqueducts fall to ruin, men too decline. What their great forefathers built, this generation cannot even scratch out of the ground. Since I left Messina I have not seen a female, married or single, or a child, that could be called at all handsome, but immense numbers who were frightfully ugly. If there are any handsome ones (which upon the whole I cannot deny) they must at any rate have hid their light under a bushel: and the preceding remark only expresses the result of my own incontestable observation.

Have you, then, you will ask, found Sicily fall short of your expectation? The word expectation has a very indefinite signification: but yet I may answer that question in the affirmative. How happens this, since, in the first place, the experience of my fellow-travellers agrees with mine? We are led partly by innate prejudices, partly by the writers of travels, to place that which is afar off and southern higher than what is nearer and northern.

Thus people think that the further they proceed in Italy, the more beauty and excellence increase in every respect, and yet, according to the point of view, the reverse might be as easily maintained. The Brianza and the Lake of Como, for instance, are more beautiful than the valley of Palermo, and the declivities of the Alps infinitely finer than those of Etna. Further, the Sicilian towns are not to be compared with the more important cities of Italy. For, setting aside Rome and Naples, Florence is beyond comparison richer and more attractive than Palermo, Genoa and Venice far more characteristic than Messina, and Turin, without doubt, greatly superior in splendour and importance to Catanea. Syracuse does not surpass the defunct Ferrara, and every thing Italian that is now conveniently accessible must here be purchased with more time, money, and exertion. Architects and mineralogists may with reason adopt a different standard; but their's is as inapplicable for me as mine for them. That there is nothing to be seen in the interior of Sicily is admitted, as I have said, by Sicilians themselves; and it is not denied even by architects, that on the long south side nothing manifests life but the ruins. Other points, state, administration, &c., I shall discuss hereafter, and there, too, the order of rank will be governed by a different standard from the degree of latitude. Naples and its environs are, in respect to nature, the splendid central point where

the northern and the southern are combined for the last time: a greater preponderance of the latter smacks of droughty Africa, in the same manner as more to the north than Germany are to be found only the characteristics of an opposite tendency and development.

I have just come from the Museum. It contains much that is locally interesting; little that is of high value as productions of art. The celebrated Venus (unfortunately without a head) is undoubtedly a beautiful woman, but only an image of reality, such as is to be found in Nature, if one will seek it, not an ideal surpassing Nature, and nevertheless real and existing.

Sicily, as every body knows, is an island, and therefore the traveller is obliged to return to Italy by sea. It is to be regretted that the posting system by water by means of steam is not on so regular a footing as it might be. To wait eight days at Messina, or four days at Syracuse, for the slow *veloce*, appeared equally tedious; I have, therefore, adopted with Du Prat a third, and we believe better alternative; we shall start this evening at six with the *veloce* for Malta, arrive there in the forenoon of the 18th, be back in Syracuse on the 21st, in Messina on the 22nd, and on the 25th (thank God) in Naples — with joyous heart and a very light purse.

Modern Syracuse, any thing but a handsome or thriving town, has suffered considerably since the

seat of the district administration was transferred to Noto, and only a sub-intendant left there. This change was made as a punishment, because at the time of the cholera the deputy of the intendant (who was himself absent) and a commissary of police were searched for by the people out of the town and put to death — most certainly a heinous offence, and one that deserved punishment. On the other hand, it is to be considered that the wealthy and the persons in office had fled precipitately, instead of fearlessly performing their duty. In that time of terror and excitement, there were of course no authorities whatever; the military shut themselves up in the castles, and made no effort for the preservation of order. Is it then surprising that the populace, left to themselves, should have committed excesses? Such is the account given to me by a very well-informed man.

LETTER XCV.

Malta—Palace of the Grand Master — Spirit of the English Government—Heat—Musquitoes.

Malta (La Valetta) August 19th.

From the southernmost part of my tour I sincerely wish Manni joy on his birthday.

On the 17th, at six in the evening, we started from Syracuse for Malta. The sea was perfectly calm. Syracuse is still a large city compared with

many others; but, setting aside historical recollections, or rather, perhaps, keeping them more in view, it appears lifeless, close, mean, monotonous, and we were glad that we were not obliged to stay there long. The sun set, as usual, without a cloud, and the bright golden tint of the sky was reflected in the magnificent mirror of the sea. In proportion as this gradually became darker, the moon asserted her claims, and gracefully danced upon the waves raised by the vessel. I would fain have passed the warm night upon deck, but was obliged to avoid the damp deposited by the atmosphere. In the morning the whole ship was wet. At sunrise I descried Malta and Gozzo in the distance. As the elevated town rose from the sea, its more southern and half-eastern character struck the eye. Messina, Catanea, Syracuse, exhibit in reality nothing, or but very little, of that kind. Aspect and impression were, therefore, wholly peculiar and new to me, and this of itself was sufficient to repay the resolution to visit the island. Fortifications of great strength and extraordinary number, a harbour, or rather five harbours, all so defended, so safe, and so deep, that the largest fleet would find room in them. Owing to the circumstance that England obtained possession of the island, it has become an intermediate point between the East and the West, and the opposition formerly kept up has been changed into a cordial accommodation. Look at those tall,

fair, ruddy descendants of Germans, striding with stately step; they appear like a totally different race of men, a race destined to command. But respect for truth obliges me to confess that I have seen more handsome women on the promenade here in one quarter of an hour than in all Sicily. Their costume, however, a black mantilla drawn up over the head, is not handsome; and it is rather surprising that in so hot a climate that colour alone should be worn. Even I, enemy to cold as I am, find the heat here too great; yesterday morning began with 23° (84° F.), and in the bright sunshine the thermometer rose to 42° (126° F.)

After I had settled myself at the Clarence Hotel, kept by Madame Goubau, I paid a visit to the governor, Mr. Bouverie, and then went to see the former palace of the grand-masters. Fine spacious apartments; some good pictures, or copies of good pictures, among them the three sisters (Graces, my guide called them,) by Palma Vecchio; an armoury, which showed that several of the grand-masters must have been of small stature, but have worn very heavy armour. From the tower of the palace you have a view of the whole town and the greatest part of the island. All the houses with flat roofs, scarcely a green thing, (especially at this season,) the bare chalk rock predominating. On the other hand, the greatest activity in every branch of agriculture; thus, at Syracuse, I had Maltese potatoes

set before me, professedly because Sicily produces no good ones!

Wherever the English come, idleness is driven away; but then they bring political views and parties along with them. Thoughtless, passive obedience cannot maintain itself as the sole foundation of human society; among a variety of new errors are also developed new and grand truths, and while the one assumes, or at least strives to gain, a higher position, the whole at last moves upward. Hence at this moment in Malta so many questions concerning the rights of the inhabitants, municipal regulations, appointment of natives and foreigners, grants of taxes, &c. Many may wish to consider the English as merely a voluntarily admitted garrison of their fortress, but in other respects to maintain complete independence. England can and will neither grant every thing nor refuse every thing: without England, Malta would retrograde in every respect. France possesses in Algiers a first link; whether many others will be added to it (without the utmost efforts) appears extremely doubtful. Malta is small, but more secure; it answers the proposed ends.

Why have all close aristocratic governments gone to ruin in modern times? Look at Venice, Genoa, Lucca, Berne, Malta. Among many reasons, there is one of the greatest importance—because they were *close*, and consequently abstained far too much

from progression and renewal. The aristoi, therefore, were not the first and best; there was no community of feeling between them and the people; the latter grew up above them, or placed themselves in hostility to them. Just as little is the separate element of the monarchical or democratical favourable in the long run to a higher development. Solon and Servius Tullius, by their division of classes, poured a fresh stream of life into the body-politic, and the Roman senate kept up its importance so long only by not despising the people. The same thing may be said of the English House of Peers.

The 19th, Evening.

I have traversed the city in all directions. It is regular, clean, full of signs of activity, and of (apparently) increasing prosperity, only street beggary prevails to the same extent as in Italy. The principal church, St. John's, contains all sorts of monuments, but neither pillars nor columns, merely a long cellar-like roof, all in the style of the degenerate age of art.

August 20th.

As the heat is too intense to make (like Baron von Wolf) rational reflexions on all and every subject, I will avail myself of this forced leisure to notice some minor matters. My intelligent hostess says that she has never known so hot a summer in Malta. On this account I keep three shirts in

constant motion. You must not drink, say over-cunning people, that you may not perspire. This is just as rational as if any one were to enjoin you not to eat in order to prevent indigestion. Nobody could bear up long against such a system with increasing thirst and continual loss of humidity; and the stomach too requires incessant cooling, if one would not be sea-sick, or risk the danger of inflammation. From other ill effects of the heat, an eruption like measles may perhaps protect me.

The *saison* (as affected reporters at German spas are pleased to call it the *saison* of the fleas is past; but instead of them (in proof of the excellence of our waters) we have some of their cousins, who, though they dance less, sing more than the fleas. Mathematicians might say that the fleas devote themselves to planimetry; the musquitoes to stereometry; for the flea-bite is confined to the surface, while the musquitoes exemplify the theory of the elevation of mountains. The flea-bite disappears in a few hours, the bite of the southern musquito not for many days.

LETTER XCVI.

Return from Malta to Messina.

Messina, August 22d.

Thus have I got in safety and without sea-sickness two degrees and a half further northward, and the heat too has decreased upon an average about

two degrees and a half. On the 20th, we left Malta, saw the bare dry south-west coast of Sicily, and arrived at Syracuse at nine in the morning of the 21st. But the present city is tiresome, and, during the prevalence of the oppressive sirocco, it was not worth while to run a second time after the scanty remains of antiquity. Excellent as the bread is in Malta, so wretched, hard, and heavy is it in Syracuse. The Moscato which we called for was absolutely unfit to drink, so strongly did it taste of rancid oil. Of course, said some one to me, because the skins are oiled before the wine is put into them. At our departure we wished ourselves in future the more remote acquaintance with the renowned city. From Taormina to Messina, the coast of Sicily is more beautiful and diversified than before; but nothing is to be found here like the mountains of Switzerland, Salzburg, and the Tirol, abounding in wood and water; and the numberless detached hills flung beside and upon one another want, in spite of their apparent diversity, harmonious connexion and picturesque beauty.

August 23d.

We (Du Prat, Malherbe, and myself,) have this time taken up our quarters at the Hotel du Nord, kept by Madame Müller, a native of Hamburg, and find ourselves quite comfortable there. On the other hand, the passport and excise authorities in the Neapolitan dominions cause more annoyance

and expence than in any country that I am acquainted with. Thus we went yesterday, soon after our arrival, to the passport-office, but were told that, though provided with a general passport, and two for Sicily, that is to say three in all, we could not set foot on the coast of Calabria; and that the permission requisite for this could not be obtained before ten or eleven to-day. And so we have been debarred of this excursion, on which we meant to start at five in the morning.

Every thing in this world is relative; so are heat and cold. In Malta the thermometer stood regularly at six in the morning in the shade at 24°, (86° F.); at Syracuse, yesterday, the sweltering, oppressive sirocco was still blowing; now, six in the morning, my thermometer indicates only 16° (68° F.) which induces me to make some change in my dress, lest I should take cold. I dare say I shall not in future find the Italian heat intolerable.

LETTER XCVII.

Messina—Farewell Concert—Return to Naples.

Naples, August 26th.

Because I do not sufficiently admire Sicily,* an extraordinary honour was paid me in the night

* "In my last letters from Sicily, or the succeeding ones from Naples, there must be something to show what a disagreeable impression this idolized island has left behind upon me. I wish to avoid repetitions on this point."—*Göthe to Zelter, Correspondence,* vi. 224.

before my departure, that between the 23d and 24th, which totally destroyed my rest. All the animals of paradise seemed to have concurred, or been directed, to treat me with a grand concert. Horses and mules beat time in the court with their hoofs. The hogs grunted, the asses brayed, the cats mewed, the dogs barked, the cocks crew, and the musquitoes trumpeted. I have not out of vanity named a single musician who was not there, and all co-operated most actively, according to the current phrase, in the performance of the opera.

I was up earlier than was necessary, gave the begging custom-house officers (who had been paid their fees the night before) nothing, in spite of their importunities, and desired them to search, which they wisely and conveniently declined. On the passage I saw part of the generally naked coasts of Calabria, touched at Tropea, and inquired the situation of Pizzo, where Murat was shot. "There lies the cursed place," replied the captain of the vessel. The weather was so favourable that, in all my sea-trips from Naples to Malta and back, I had not the slightest attack of sickness. Ecclesiastics and monks were every where taken on board and put ashore. Sometimes a sort of respect was paid them; at others they were laughed at, or stories told in ridicule of them. Thus, for instance, the miracle of the feeding of five thousand persons was related to a Capuchin; he was astonished at it, but,

after passing some moments, as if in a brown study, he observed that it would have been a much greater miracle if our Saviour had given five thousand loaves, fishes, and other food, to five persons, and they had eaten the whole with a good appetite, without overloading their stomachs or making themselves ill.

Had H— been on board with us he might have given full scope to his dislike of foreign languages. So mixed was the company that I had to speak German, French, English, and Italian.

In the evening of the 24th, the sun set very beautifully opposite to the moon, and on the morning of the 25th I saw the scene reversed with equal pleasure. Soon afterwards I discerned Monte St. Angelo and the coast from Amalfi to Cape Campanella. We passed between Massa and the fantastic Capri into the magnificent bay of Naples, which, according to my notions, surpasses all that I had seen in Sicily. Others may perhaps be of a different opinion. After I had happily got through the struggle with the hundred-handed boatmen, porters, police, and custom-house officers, land and sea guards, I arrived at St. Lucia, took possession of my old apartment, and again enjoyed the prospect, the tints of sunset, the moon, the sunrise. Fine pure air into the bargain—no sirocco, no *aria cattiva.*

August 29th.

Yesterday I called on M. P—, Minister of Justice, to thank him for the statistics of Neapolitan jurisprudence, with which he had presented me. The attendants in the ante-room of his office received me with that coarse condescension with which supplicants are usually treated; and when, after sending in my card, a message was brought to desire me to walk in, I modestly sought a safe corner for my umbrella. After our interview, as the minister accompanied me to the farthest ante-room, the officious serving-men pounced like birds of prey upon my umbrella, and he who was lucky enough to seize it presented it to me, after the minister had returned, with the utmost humility, and saying that "he kissed my hand a hundred times." His expectation that I should in return put my hand into my purse was disappointed; I calmly told him not to trouble himself, and went my way. The fees for passports cannot be evaded in a similar manner, and still less the impositions of the publicans and sinners.

LETTER XCVIII.

Modern History of Naples—Charles III.—Ferdinand IV. and Marie Caroline—Conquest by the French—Partheno-pean Republic—Restoration of the King—His second expulsion by the French.

Naples, July 5th.

As the kingdom of the two Sicilies has never had any decided influence on European affairs, its his-

tory is often neglected, or at any rate less known, though it offers many attractive peculiarities. It is by no means my intention in this place to fill up that chasm, but only to premise so much of the historical as may be necessary to render my communications respecting the present intelligible.

It may be justly asserted that this country, so highly favoured by Heaven, has experienced a very large share of historical misfortune; for it not only participated in the calamities which befel all Italy, but has had to endure its own and perhaps the severest of all besides. One would imagine that, situated in the southernmost corner of Europe, it had been least exposed to political storms and invasions; and yet, on the contrary, it exhibits the greatest change of masters and of nations. Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, Lombards, Arabs, Normans, Germans, French, Hungarians, Spaniards, English, have successively and simultaneously exercised physical and political influence, and contributed in such a manner to the fixing, or rather to the change, of the national character, that one scarcely knows upon what to found it, or what is to be required of it.

The fall of the Hohenstaufen was a great misfortune, and a long backward stride for Naples and Sicily; for, in the southern part of Italy, the last sovereigns of this house were at the head of a grand and beneficial development, which was for-

cibly obstructed, nay annihilated, by the Anjouins.

The union of Naples and Sicily under the Aragonese introduced the Spanish dominion with all the innumerable, incalculable evils, to which I have already adverted in my article on Lombardy. It was, therefore, a great gain when the country was totally separated from Spain and obtained in Charles of Bourbon (1734-1759) an independent king of its own. Though he did not overturn every thing in the violent manner of later times, yet he issued many new laws, which chiefly aimed at diminishing the spiritual and feudal authority. After many a dispute, the papal investiture at length took place on the 12th of May, 1738; and in 1741 a concordat was concluded with Benedict XIV., in virtue of which the clergy were subjected to various taxes, and the right of sanctuary and spiritual jurisdiction were abridged. As, however, little or nothing was fixed or stipulated relative to church property, convents, the number of priests, and other important matters, the government often construed the concordat according to its own pleasure, regulated ecclesiastical jurisdiction, limited the number of priests and monks, rejected all bulls not confirmed by the king, forbade new accessions to church property, abrogated all excommunications pronounced against subjects because they had obeyed the orders of the government, prohibited the foun-

dation of churches and Jesuits' colleges without the royal approbation, &c. Notwithstanding all that is here stated, the government acted rather from necessity and instinct than upon fixed principles, and in other respects the king showed himself bigoted and superstitious. Though the people, too, were in many respects highly superstitious, they frustrated the attempt, renewed even during the pontificate of Benedict XIV., to introduce the Inquisition.

In other points, too, Charles's government displayed great and well-meant, though sometimes mistaken, activity. He concluded, for instance, many commercial treaties, founded a tribunal of commerce, enacted rigorous laws against bankrupts, restored order in the coinage department, instituted a board for naval matters, protected the country from the corsairs, promoted the arts and sciences, built San Carlo and Caserta, embellished the Studj, as it is called, &c. A new *cadastre* still favoured the higher classes exceedingly; but yet, in spite of many faults, it corrected greater evils, especially for the advantage of the lower classes.

When, in 1759, king Charles ascended the throne of Spain, he was succeeded in Naples by his son Ferdinand IV., then eight years old, under the guidance of a regency, the principal person of which was the Marchese Tanucci. Nay, it may be asserted that, till his dismissal in 1777, this man

was virtually the sovereign of Naples; while the king learned nothing, attended to no business, merely ate, drank, slept, hunted, fished, and liked best to associate with uneducated persons.

Of a different disposition was Marie Caroline (daughter of Maria Theresa and sister of Marie Antoinette) who was married in her sixteenth year (1768) to the king, and soon gained a powerful influence over him. Her beauty, prudence, firmness, and activity, are as highly extolled as her ambition, severity, and cruelty, are censured. To describe and portray upon the co-operating back-ground of great political events, the joys and sorrows, the victories and defeats, the loftiness and the arrogance of that mighty mind, in astonishing and at the same time revolting combination, is a task worthy of an historian who knows how to reconcile impartiality and sympathy.

Tanucci's activity was more especially directed to ecclesiastical matters. He enforced the levy of *spolie* and *regalie*, suppressed several convents, limited the tithes and the admission into the clerical order, prohibited acquisitions in mortmain, summonses to Rome without the king's permission, interference of the pope in various ecclesiastical concerns, and that of the bishops in the system of instruction. He declared marriage a civil contract, expelled the Jesuits, &c.

The financial system continued unreformed and

very oppressive for the lower classes, because the higher enjoyed numberless immunities; the army was neglected, and individual improvements—for example in the administration of the law—were rarely approved by the authorities, accustomed to the old routine. Indeed, all was not of a piece, but good and bad, liberality and tyranny, showed themselves at once and in singular mixture. Thus, for instance, the colonies of St. Leucio, near Caserta, were founded on the philanthropic principles of the so-called philosophers. All the members of the settlement were to be perfectly equal, and elders annually elected (in place of disagreeable authorities) were to settle any disputes that might arise. All expense was renounced, and it was agreed that merit should decide on every occasion. There was to be free choice of matrimonial partners, without the influence of parents, no dowry, no wills, &c. Singular that, in the same kingdom and at the same time that such rose-coloured fancies and reveries were indulged, the reading of the Florence Gazette was punished with six months' imprisonment, and the reading of Voltaire with three years' labour in the galleys.

After the breaking out of the French revolution, every thing assumed a graver aspect: hopes sprang up, as well as apprehensions. The numerous adherents of the new doctrines looked for better times, better governments, the prodigious advance of so-

ciety; the government, on the contrary (and Queen Marie Caroline, in particular), feared the overthrow of all order, and of all the good that the efforts of a thousand years had founded. The former conceived that secret associations and conspiracies were allowable, nay even necessary, for the attainment of such salutary ends; the latter hoped by severity, or even cruelty and injustice, to check and put a stop to every movement of minds. Among the friends of innovation, there were not only well-disposed persons but also others who were swayed by ambition, cupidity, and inclination to crime; among the advocates of subsisting institutions were some who would rather punish ten innocent persons than suffer one who was guilty to escape. Hence violation of legal forms, long imprisonment without trial, while the evils were but covered, not healed or extirpated. The victory of the one or the other party depended on external circumstances.

The idea conceived by the king or the queen of Naples of a defensive alliance of all the Italian states was judicious and adapted to the times; but it was foiled through the timidity of other princes and of the republic of Venice. The government of Naples too lost courage when a French fleet under Latouche appeared, and demanded and enforced neutrality. In July, 1793, however, a new treaty was concluded with England, but it led to no rigorous measures, as the Neapolitan finances were in great disorder,

and the court lived in such alarm of conspiracies that the old life-guard was disbanded and a new one formed, the household arrangements were changed, the sleeping chambers kept secret, and the like.

In October, 1796, the court was obliged to purchase the continuance of peace by hard conditions and the payment of large sums. The danger approached still nearer when, in the spring of 1798, the French expelled the pope, and, under the name of liberty, practised the worst tyranny, or allowed it to be practised. Relying upon a treaty, concluded on the 19th of May, 1798, with Austria, England, and Russia, and on his just cause, the king of Naples declared war on the 22nd of November, 1798, and, full of the greatest hopes, entered Rome on the 27th. But his more numerous army was commanded by the incompetent Mack, and overweening confidence was succeeded by excessive terror; so that the French, after easy victories, took possession of Rome, and advanced with such rapidity that, on the 21st of December, 1798, the king fled to Sicily. In order to account for these disasters, various reasons were assigned: want of courage and discipline, fear of treachery, difference of wishes and objects, &c. While individuals exhausted themselves in heroic but unavailing resistance, others acquainted the French general Championnet with the disorganized state of the country, and urged him to accelerate his advance. The

populace of Naples, the lazzaroni in particular, equally far from political hopes and military calculations, were alone determined on resistance; while the most opposite plans crossed each other in the higher circles, Mack gave in his resignation, and Pignatelli, the viceroy, fled. With the obstinate resistance of the lazzaroni were associated horrors and crimes of various kinds. After they had lost 3000, and the French at least 1000 men, the latter entered Naples on the 22nd of January, 1799, and there founded, after the fashion of the time, a Parthenopean republic.

The king had raised the war and yet fled from it, collected treasures, and carried them with him, leaving all, without leader, without proper instructions, to domestic feuds and the sword of foreigners. For this reason part of the susceptible people was seized with enthusiasm for the new liberty; hence the removal of all magistrates and civil officers, trees of liberty and colours, vehement speeches, and wild dances, and religious exercises, in an unnatural, but on that account doubly exciting, medley. Championnet went to church with his officers to pay due reverence to the blood of St. Januarius, and it was considered as a good sign that it thought fit to liquefy sooner than usual.

The new republic, in fact, had no true and genuine foundation. Abstract theories, without practical knowledge and skill, talk about liberty and

equality, without means of rendering them comprehensible to the multitude, nay, without knowing wherein they consisted; a sudden, abrupt transition from unlimited monarchy to a republic established by conquest; no roots, no analogies in character, manners, and habits of the people. So much the more rapidly did the new rulers proceed in the work of destruction, caring little about building up again. Thus a new division of the country and of the administration was undertaken, by which, in ignorant haste, a bare mountain was erected into the capital of a district, rivers were twice specified, provinces forgotten, and so forth. Violent resolutions against churches and convents, clergy and nobles, were of very little immediate benefit to the people, and did not harmonize with their previous sentiments. But the zealots paused not till they had imitated the whole series of French resolutions: abolition of the rights of nobility and titles, overthrow of the royal statues, proclamation of Ferdinand a tyrant, and his domains national property, &c. Democrats traversed the provinces, and strove to gain over the ignorant people to the new wisdom, by extolling to the skies religious reforms, liberty of conscience, civil honour, abolition of wills, and numberless other things, some good, some bad, which were at that time forced upon nations in opposition to all that had previously subsisted.

The new constitution, a copy of the vicious French

constitution of 1793, was to give solidity and everlasting duration to the vague; and many, who comprehended nothing of its purport, good-naturedly believed in the value and effect of the new universal medicine, for the preparation and administration of which at first mountebank, but afterwards criminal, clubs actively operated. These frivolous pleasures were very soon disturbed by more sensible practical measures. Championnet disarmed the people out of suspicion, and forbade nocturnal amusements; he then demanded (for the infinite blessing of modern freedom was not to be had for nothing) a contribution of 17½ millions of Neapolitan ducats; he declared that by right of conquest all the property of the king, of the churches, of the convents, of the orders, of the banks, moreover the royal porcelain manufactory, and the collections from Herculaneum and Pompeji, belonged to the French. With classically barbarous erudition, Championnet returned for answer to the complaining Neapolitans, *Væ victis!*

No wonder if under such circumstances many minds again turned to the old system, and the counter-revolution, especially in Calabria, under Cardinal Ruffo, made progress. But it became not decisive till the disasters of the French in Upper Italy, which led in May, 1799, to the evacuation of Naples. The hopes of the republicans that, after the pernicious influence of the foreigners was

done away with, all would unite in behalf of a new and improved constitution were utterly disappointed. Before Ruffo's face the greatest horrors were perpetrated in Naples, and the convention concluded with the garrison of the citadel was violated —a procedure for which the queen and the co-operating English admiral, Nelson, have been most severely, and, as it appears, justly blamed.

It is certain that not the people only, but the government also, was led to indulge in revenge and cruelty. Instead of being rendered indulgent towards others by the consciousness of its own faults, and punishing only a few of the most mischievous, there ensued numberless apprehensions and severe imprisonments, inquisitorial forms, tortures, refusal of legal defenders, rewarding of the most unworthy assistants—all this was termed just zeal for the good cause. Every error in political matters, at that time so frequent and so natural, was considered as a most heinous offence, and while no allowance was made for the illusions of noble minds, an open alliance was formed with robbers and murderers. Fra Diavolo, Mammone, the blood-quaffer, and wretches of that class, were treated as friends by the king and queen, and loaded with titles and orders. Speziale, the chief judge, who afterwards became insane, reminds us by his bloodthirsty and bitterly cruel conduct of Judge Jefferies, and enemies, creditors, rivals, found no difficulty in gratifying their

selfishness or wreaking their revenge upon the most innocent persons. The counter-revolution outdid the revolution, and it was not clemency and humanity, but political motives, that put an end to the persecutions after the battle of Marengo.

In the new war of 1805, the former enthusiasm in behalf of the government was not displayed—a natural consequence of what has just been related. On the 23rd of January, 1806, the king fled, on the 11th of February, the queen, and on the 14th the French entered Naples a second time. The era of republics was past: it was decreed that new kingdoms should be formed out of conquests, and Joseph Bonaparte was acknowledged as sovereign without resistance. He had some qualifications and attainments, but not that mind and moral dignity which a king ought to possess.

LETTER XCIX.

State of Naples during the reign of Joseph Bonaparte—Murat—His Quarrel with Napoleon—His Fall.

Naples, July 6th.

In what state did Joseph find the country, and what did he in the two years of his reign, 1806—1808? The administration of justice rested on very different legislations, which seemed to have sprung rather from accident and caprice than from know-

ledge and real want. There never had been a question about equalizing the taxes and impositions, and with arbitrary assessment was often associated an inordinate increase. Property was in few hands, and most of it entailed or immoveable, by means of feudal and ecclesiastical laws, majorats, trusts, &c. The nobles and clergy were wealthy, the people poor, and the organization of the communes not worth mentioning. A feeling of the want of greater liberty and of many a modification prevailed, but without perceiving how these were to be brought about by native energy and native means. A new king, a new government, appeared almost indispensable, in order to break up domestic intrigues by superior power and greatness, and to unite all hopes and all efforts for one general and salutary end.

Unfortunately, however, the mere imitation of what was French passed in general for the highest wisdom; and excessive power of the police, as well as influence of spies and informers, belonged to the new patriotism and mode of government, just as a fondness for robbery and plunder ranged itself under the banners of the former dynasty. Colletta, therefore, says in his excellent history, of which I have gratefully availed myself:"* "We were then—

* The Sicilians, nevertheless, complain that Colletta's history is extremely inaccurate in regard to their country, and that, when in office, his conduct was severe and cruel. Did not a very clever Florentine, G. C. take a very essential part in the preparation and composition of that work?

I hope our pride will not be offended by this admission—not ripe for more free institutions. In order to found the liberty of a people, there belong not laws, but manners. Freedom, moreover, does not advance by leaps of revolutions, but by the steady step of improvement, and that legislator is wise who prepares the way for this progress; but not he who drives civil society forward to an ideal good, with which the comprehension of the mind, the wishes of the heart, and the habits of life, in no wise correspond. Let us confess that a little suits and suffices most of the Italians; they are either too polished, or not polished enough, for the enterprizes of freedom."

But much was then done in Naples, and of this much a great part may be designated as unavoidable, useful development; such as the regulation and simplification of the financial system, the abolition of many abuses of the feudal system, the release of river navigation from pernicious restrictions, and other improvements, which I shall notice presently. With the French code of laws, a free field was opened (to the joy of many theorists and advocates) for the display of eloquence. Salutary laws were issued for schools, but unfortunately pecuniary means were wanting for carrying into execution what was promised. Theoretical aversion, and still more fiscal cupidity, led to the dissolution of the convents. Amid these changes, nobody thought of

the poor, and real necessity, as well as immoral sentiments, produced cruelties and robberies of every kind. When Joseph was summoned to Spain, he had not gained the affection of his subjects, in spite of all his endeavours; for it was not till afterwards that many a law could yield useful fruit, while the defects of the present forcibly struck the eye. Joseph, said his opponents, reigned not as king, but as his brother's general, enriched foreigners at the expence of natives, made a partial bankruptcy, and, at the same time, new debts, sacrificed churches and convents to the necessities of the day, regardless of religion and the schools, and forgot that the dissolute life led by a king is not only derogatory to his dignity but operates detrimentally on extensive circles.

On the 15th of July, 1808, Murat was proclaimed king, and, on the 6th of September, he made his entry into Naples. People did not indeed expect of him a paternal or an independent government, but hoped that through him the kingdom would be raised to greater importance, and that the people would gain a beneficial influence by means of the new constitution. But it was soon perceived that Naples was to sacrifice herself for French objects, and that the constitution was an abomination to the king. It was never carried into execution, though it conferred neither authority nor influence.

Murat was involved in unbecoming quarrels with his wife, a woman of superior mind and character,

and in unavoidable disputes with his brother-in-law, especially about pecuniary payments and the supply of soldiers.

In the interior, the banditti were exterminated by the severest measures, and, through the rigorous application of the new laws, such retribution overtook the nobility, that many families were impoverished and ruined, while upstarts stepped into their places and were enriched at the expense of the state. The splendour, which every profusion diffuses for the moment, was not wanting here. New excavations, scientific collections, observatories, botanic gardens, and things of that kind, forming the light side of the picture; while the darker back-ground exhibited trebled taxes, stagnation of trade, and of course an impoverished country.

At the same time there was developed (a consequence of well-founded or exaggerated distrust) a system of espionage and informing, which penetrated into all circles, and disgraced even the highest officers of the crown.

The Neapolitan people, accustomed to change, and eager for it, had received Murat, (as it had done other rulers) with demonstrations of joy; but he cared little for its applause, and favoured the army exclusively, in order that by means of it he might maintain his ground against internal and external enemies.

During the ten years' administration of the French, says an intelligent writer,* trade and manufactures flourished only through the barbarous treatment of foreign and the inordinate consumption of native commodities. An innumerable host of *employés* appropriated to itself millions of the current receipts and of the recently-acquired domains of the state. An army of 60,000 men, (exclusively of the militia, and other theatrically-dressed persons); officers in ever-varying uniforms; an ant-hill of new nobles, vieing with old families, who could display their former pride at the new court only in superb, embroidered clothes: in short, disorder, folly, and profusion of every kind, operated for the momentary benefit of various trades; but agriculture was left, through the interruption of all commerce, in a wretched situation.

Things soon began to assume a graver aspect, and, but for the war with Russia, Murat would have fallen out before he did with Napoleon. The emperor's declaration after the retreat from Moscow wounded him most deeply, and in a letter to Queen Caroline, Napoleon wrote, that her husband was ungrateful, had no capacity for politics, was unworthy of his alliance, and deserved the severest public punishment.

Murat replied in a bolder style than Napoleon

* Sul cabotaggio fra le due Sicilie, p. 61.

and others expected. "The wound which your majesty has inflicted on my honour you cannot heal again. You have done injustice to an old companion in arms, who adhered to you in dangers, who was no unimportant contributor to your victories, a prop of your greatness, the reviver of your courage, when it failed on the 18th of Brumaire.

"You say that whoever has the honour to belong to your renowned family ought not to do anything that brings its honour into danger and diminishes its glory. And I reply, sire, that your family has received as much honour from me as I have gained by marriage with Caroline. A thousand times do I wish for the return of that time when, as a mere officer, I had superiors, but not a master. I have since become king; but even in this highest situation, tyrannized over by your majesty, controlled in my household concerns, I feel more than ever the need of independence, and thirst for liberty. Thus do you wound, thus do you sacrifice, through your suspicion, those men who have been most faithful to you and who have most contributed to your prosperity. Thus was Fouché sacrificed to Savary, Talleyrand to Champagny, Champagny to Bassano, Murat to Beauharnois, who has in your eyes the merit of silent obedience, or another, which to you is more welcome because it is more slavish, namely, that of having cheerfully announced to the French senate the repudiation of his mother.

"I can no longer deny my people some sort of restoration of commerce as a compensation for the immense injury which it has sustained from the maritime war.

"From all that has happened it follows that the old mutual confidence is changed. It will take such a form as pleases yourself; but, be your injustice what it may, I still remain your brother and faithful relative, Joachim."

After long hesitation Murat once more reconciled himself with the emperor, saw him for the last time at Erfurt, but, on his return to Naples, (at the end of 1813) perceived ominous signs of a hostile disposition. He hoped by severity or flattery to awe or to gain the Carbonari, and by negociation to amuse the foreign powers. At length, on the 14th of January, 1814, Murat concluded an armistice with England, and a treaty with Austria, by which he was recognized as king of Naples. The art of deception was, according to his notions, the one thing needful in politics, and yet he deceived none but himself, especially with the dream of a splendid union of all Italy, which he was called to accomplish.

He therefore rashly resolved, after Napoleon's flight from Elba (February 26th, 1815) upon war, and advanced with his army to the Po. His invitations to co-operate for the Italian object were answered with speeches and verses; but no where

was there any appearance of active participation, or of that enthusiasm which grudges no sacrifice. So little was the time deemed favourable, and the king competent to solve the great problems proposed, that the persons released by him from Austrian confinement chose rather to shun all dangers and to return quietly to their own homes. The army, externally so brilliant, lost all hope and courage in the retreat; and treachery increased the confusion. Hence the defeat of the king on the 14th of May at Tolentino, and his flight on the 22nd. Two days before he published a constitution, dated back the 30th of March, as though in the moment of death this empty form could miraculously impart new life. In consequence of the convention of Casalanza, the Austrians entered Naples; but, in order to prevent the recurrence of former cruelties, they insisted on a general amnesty.

LETTER C.

State of Naples on Ferdinand's Return — The Carbonari — Revolution of 1820 — Interference of Austria.

Naples, July 7th.

WHAT, on Ferdinand's return, was the state of the country, the people, and public opinion? In many indignation and hatred, on account of the oppression, the arbitrary proceedings, the immo-

rality, and the vanity of foreign rule, had struck such deep root that they totally forgot the defects of former times, and desired and exerted themselves to bring about an unconditional re-establishment of things upon their old footing. Others, whose experience extended farther back, recollected with apprehension all the evils which were formerly complained of, and which threatened to spring up afresh. In fact, true political wisdom would have alike rejected and prevented the unconditional retention of the new, and the unconditional restoration of the old.

Laws, customs, opinions, hopes, aims, had essentially changed during the last ten years: the mass of the people alone had remained upon the whole at the same point of intellectual, moral, and religious cultivation or ignorance. For years, they had been so often told that they were a set of worthless wretches, that they almost believed they had a right to make good the assertion. They were accustomed to the unlawful gains arising out of civil disturbances, to the plunder of feudal rights, to the conveniences of the new equality; and, on all these accounts, restless, rapacious, and to be kept quiet by force alone.

The clergy, full of hopes of an extension of their power; the nobility, dissolved as a body, and in regard to their interests standing nearer to the people than before. Discipline in the army essentially diminished; the pretensions of every am-

bitious person, of every man of talent, immoderately increased. Instead of the former respect for the existing government, there was fear in proportion as it showed itself powerful, or attachment according as it rewarded. Instead of inward affection, there prevailed outward calculation, and men were more ready to obey persons than the laws. Many deemed it wise to reconcile arrogance with servility, and to practise both at once.

Royal proclamations of the 20th and 24th of May, 1815, transmitted from Messina, heightened the hopes that were conceived. They recommended peace and concord, and promised oblivion of the past. A modest confession of faults ran through them; and, in adverting to fundamental laws of the state, to liberties, and to formal guarantees of them, they seemed to offer a constitution, though they abstained from the mention of it.

Queen Caroline, Murat's consort, saw from the harbour what festivities were preparing for King Ferdinand, and heard the songs which the populace, approaching in boats, were singing in derision of herself. Murat, nevertheless, conceived that he might rely on Neapolitan attachment: he was condemned to die by men to whom as king he had given their appointments. For the moment, people were tired of revolutionizing, and would not, for the sake of an upstart, plunge the whole nation into new dangers.

This easy victory tended to ruin the government; for it now imagined that all dangers were obviated, showed more and more decidedly an intention of abolishing even the salutary arrangements adopted by the government during the preceding ten years, and of annihilating former opponents by accusations, degradations, and punishments, instead of conciliating and gaining them by an opposite course. After the departure of the Austrians, (1817) the faults of the government became more frequent, and though they were not of such extent and importance as in other countries revolutionized on that account, still they put an end to confidence, attachment, and hope; and noble-minded as well as over-heated and self-interested Carbonari strove to shake the not yet firmly rooted monarchy, and to inspire a fondness for political forms of a different kind. As about this period the Spanish revolution was extolled to the skies, and Riego and Quiroga were represented as heroes, the Neapolitan Carbonari would not be outdone, and the revolution of 1820 was the consequence.

"There is reason to believe," says General Carascosa in his Memoirs, "that King Ferdinand, on his return from Naples, intended to perform what he had promised. The men who had served under Murat were, therefore, at first treated with respect, the sale of the national domains and the new nobility were confirmed, and the administration was re-

tained. Many mistakes were subsequently committed. Those persons were universally preferred who had accompanied the king to Sicily, the army was reformed five times in four years, and adherents of the Bourbons found pardon for even heinous offences. Hence great discontent, which was the more dangerous, as two conquests and two restorations had attacked and vitiated the morals of the people."

The secret societies, the Calderai, and the Carbonari, had been, according to circumstances, alternately protected and persecuted by the different governments.

When the Carbonari, those foes to foreign domination, saw their hopes relative to the introduction of a constitution not realized after Ferdinand's restoration, they regulated anew their almost dissolved society, and by the admission of a great many members so increased their number and influence, that they had it in their power to impede all the steps of the government, and to make the army dependent upon them, especially by means of the subaltern officers.

On the 2nd of July, 1820, a lieutenant Morelli, a man of no consequence, at the head of one hundred and fifty men, proclaimed a new — nobody knows what — constitution. The soldiers sent against him joined the innovators, while all those who had hitherto been called the exclusively

faithful in Naples lost courage, and the equally timid king resigned his power to his son. Many were displeased with the course, though they approved the aim, of the insurrection, and when the people shouted, "Live God, live the king, live the constitution!" most expected the fulfilment of their respective hopes, offices, honours, diminution of taxes, &c.

While thousands of the soldiers ordered out left their posts, the Carbonari hastened to the revolutionary army, and forced the acceptance of the Spanish constitution, with the purport of which they were unacquainted, and which was less adapted to Naples than to Spain. At the head of what was called the sacred band, the abbé Minichini entered Naples, habited as a priest, armed as a soldier, decorated with all the insignia of the lodges. He was followed without order by a motley mixture of clergy, monks, and laity, high and low, Carbonari, or others who now wished to pass for such. As soon as the procession was visible from the royal palace, the viceroy issued orders that all should assume the signs of the Carbonari; whether owing to fear or policy, or because the intention to deceive was already at the bottom, I cannot decide.

General Pepe addressed a formal speech to the viceroy, who made this reply: — "The king, the people, we all, owe our thanks to the constitutional army, and to you its worthy chiefs. The throne

was not secure; it now stands firmly founded on the will and the interests of the people."

After the king had on the 13th of July sworn to maintain the Spanish constitution, the new prosperity appeared to be unchangeably founded, and universal joy and satisfaction seemed to prevail.

The new parliament, (upon the whole between 70 and 80 persons) adopted the Spanish constitution for the second time, almost without alteration; Sicily, on the contrary, would not suffer its future lot to be prescribed by Naples. In Palermo a dreadful riot took place; this was succeeded by open civil war between the two principal divisions of the kingdom. The parliament, with passionate partiality, rejected the convention concluded by General Florestan Pepe with Palermo, and diminished the strength of the kingdom at a moment when other not less serious dangers were impending.

In the first place, the power of the Carbonari and their lodges grew till it surpassed that of the parliament. The well disposed drew back from them in proportion as the hot-headed and self-interested thrust themselves forward, and vied with each other in proposing violent resolutions. Instead of the monarchical spirit, which still partially prevailed at first, the democratic, or rather the anarchical, gained the ascendency; and this, regardless of the actual state of things at home and abroad, cared

not if the hopes originally entertained were gradually dispelled, and gave place to general discontent. Obscure persons, without any merit, aspired to the first offices, quoting the examples of Massena and Hoche, when their competence was doubted. Instead of avoiding all grounds of discord, under circumstances so new and so difficult, they maltreated the nobility, insulted the civil and military officers, and believed, as superficially as unseasonably, that liberty consists in constant contradiction and opposition.

Warnings not to change every thing, and thereby to divide and to weaken, exhortations to correct the constitution, and to satisfy the foreign powers, proved of no avail. People cherished the conviction that the latter would concern themselves no more about Naples than if it lay in the moon; and that any consideration only showed weakness and slavery, whereas, to dash boldly forward, was the way to overawe and to deter. And this belief they entertained while the soldiers were running home in troops, and discipline was so totally disregarded that lieutenants resolved that their colonel should be expelled, or even put to death.

Such was the state of things, when, on the 6th of December, 1820, the king declared that he had been invited by the allied powers to go to Laybach, and that he would endeavour with all his

might to procure for his people a free constitution, founded on the following principles:—

1. No privileged orders, but general personal liberty.

2. Right of the representatives of the people to grant the taxes, to investigate the public revenues and expenditure, and to take part in the enactment of laws.

3. Responsible ministers, and irremoveable judges.

4. A fixed civil list.

5. Liberty of the press, under certain legal provisions.

6. No persecutions on account of the past.

These points, in fact, comprehended all that was essential, all that could be hoped and wished, and they derived double weight from the decided expectation that the foreign powers would declare their acquiescence in them. The parliament, nevertheless, rejected them, out of arrogance, and a senseless predilection for the Spanish constitution. It forgot, that, notwithstanding all the solemn promises of the timid king, a war in defence of this impolitic patchwork would be inevitable.

Almost all the ministers resigned, and vehemence in speech and writing increased, while, in reality, nothing was done to avert or to overcome the impending dangers. The army, hastily collected, was weak, without discipline and order, and indisposed

to war. When, therefore, on the 7th of March, Pepe, too precipitately, and without having made suitable dispositions, attacked the Austrians at Rieti, his division of the army dispersed without resistance, and the second, under General Carascosa, followed its example. The inhabitants of the Abruzzi received the Austrians with open arms, and on the 23rd of March they entered Naples without opposition.

The king, instead of finding grounds for clemency in the weakness and pitifulness of his own conduct, gave free scope to accusations and punishments, and in a short time Naples suffered inexpressibly under a two-fold tyranny, the revolutionary and the absolutist. It is difficult to judge impartially of all these circumstances; but so much is certain that the Neapolitans are to be pitied as well as blamed—the former inasmuch as their grievances were by no means unfounded; but they had no formal or legal mode of urging and obtaining a remedy for them. This almost compelled the adoption of revolutionary expedients. They are further to be pitied for this reason, that they were obliged (as at one time under Murat) to fight for a cause which many deemed foolish or unjust. Thus they lost at once the reputation of wisdom and valour. They must be blamed, inasmuch as they acted without prudence, precaution, and political moderation, which, after so disorderly a beginning,

were doubly necessary for excuse and justification. Neither party did what was right; neither seems to have gained instruction from experience; and thus it is that fire smoulders under embers, till sooner or later circumstances fan it into a flame. Colletta, himself a Neapolitan, judges in the grief of his noble heart more severely than I, a foreigner dare do. He says: — "In Italy thought and tongue are free, the heart servile, the arm sluggish, and in every political occurrence there is scandal only, but no energy." He truly and prophetically adds in another place: — "Every revolution, every tyranny, is impotent. Virtue and cultivation alone have power to effect permanent improvements. To them, therefore, rulers and nations ought to direct their hopes and their efforts."

LETTER CI.

Naples — Constitution — Parliament — Clergy — Convents — Concordat — Nobility — Agriculture.

Naples, July 8th.

Brief and imperfect as the preceding sketch of the history of Naples is, still it will facilitate the comprehension of what has been done during the last thirty-three years in regard to legislation. The tendency and spirit of this legislation are so different, according to the position and point of view

of different governments, that I ought perhaps to arrange my communications under so many divisions, and to bring together all the changes that were made under Joseph, Murat, Ferdinand, &c. But, as this mode of proceeding would frequently render it necessary to break in pieces that which belongs together, I think it better to give one general view of all that relates to one subject.

Let us begin with the constitution. Joseph Bonaparte conceived that this ticklish point might be wholly waved, inasmuch as an administration only, and no real constitution, had till then subsisted in Naples. In the year 1808, Napoleon, nevertheless, thought it better to give his brother-in-law, Murat, a letter of recommendation in the constitution of the 20th of July. One hundred members, elected from among the clergy, the nobility, the landed proprietors, the literary and the mercantile classes, were to form the five benches of the parliament. No public meetings, but private consultations and votes: no restraint on the proceedings, upon pain of rebellion. When the king has heard the parliament, he decides.

At his departure, Joseph declared that he was obliged to yield to cruel necessity, and to withdraw from a people that he had so much reason to love. To soothe the sorrow of this beloved object, Murat wrote as follows:—"It is extremely gratifying to us that we are chosen to govern and to

lead back to its ancient glory a people endowed with the happiest qualities. The first duty that we impose on ourselves in this work is to show on every occasion to all Europe our gratitude towards the illustrious Emperor Napoleon, and to secure for our people all the advantages arising from the intimate union of its interests with those of the great French empire. The constitution, which has been solemnly accepted, shall form the foundation of our government. It is our wish to be in a few weeks in the midst of you, with our illustrious consort Queen Caroline, with our crown-prince Achilles Napoleon, and with our little family, which we gladly confide to your attachment and your loyalty."

Such was the new-fangled liberal and old-fashioned legitimate declaration of Murat. After his arrival, ordinances were issued relative to orders, armorial bearings, the royal genealogy, and the court dresses; but, in regard to the constitution, he gladly accepted a proclamation of the retiring Joseph, of the 23d of June, containing this passage: "Till the period shall arrive when the act of the constitution shall come into activity, every thing shall remain as it was."

Napoleon was silent, and thus neither the constitution of 1808, nor that made public two days before Murat's flight, was ever put in force.

On the other hand, King Ferdinand, at his return on the 20th of May, 1815, promised what

follows:—Personal and civil liberty is secured; property is sacred; the sale of the national domains irrevocable. The taxes to be granted (*decretate*) according to the forms which the laws shall prescribe. In the army every one retains his rank, pay, and honours. Every Neapolitan is admissible to all offices. The old and the new nobility are confirmed; the public debt is guaranteed, and an unconditional amnesty (without quibbling and without exceptions) is granted.

These assurances were performed only in part, and of the development of the public law, to which allusion was made, no further notice was taken. Hence chiefly the revolution of 1820, the acceptance of the Spanish constitution on the 7th of July, and on the 8th the appointment of a commission to translate it into Italian, that people might learn what a treasure they had found, for what wisdom they were so zealous, and what duties they had sworn to perform. After this tie was broken nothing more was ever done for public law, and, in the higher and formal sense of the term, it does not exist in Naples.

Let us now consider the fortunes of the different states, and first of the clergy. In this particular the legislation of Joseph and Murat was closely copied from the French. Separate jurisdiction ceased, and nothing was left to the bishop but a correctional superintendence of the clergy. No

one was to receive ordination without a benefice, and it was not to be conferred on more than five persons in a thousand. The church lands were subjected to all the general laws, (for instance, land-tax, communal assessments, &c.) which, of course, occasioned a material loss to the holders.*

In regard to convents and monastic orders, much more energetic measures were pursued. In the preamble to a law concerning their dissolution in 1807, it is said, "The force of circumstances compels every nation to follow more or less slowly the movement which mind imparts to every age. The religious orders, which rendered so many services in times of barbarism, have become less useful through the very success of their own efforts. Our religion, now glorious and triumphant, needs no longer to have recourse to the hospitality of convents against persecutions; in the bosom of families too are altars erected, and the secular clergy respond to our confidence and that of our people. The general diffusion of a fondness for the arts and sciences, the spirit of war, of commerce, of colonies, have forced all the governments of Europe to direct the talents, the activity, and the resources of their people to these important objects. As we, nevertheless, (so this law proceeds after various other commendations,) purpose to act towards the con-

* Many church estates were subject to certain taxes so far back as King Charles's time.

vents and monks with justice and benevolence, the former are dissolved, their possessions shall be sold for the benefit of the creditors of the state, and an annuity of 200 dollars (Neapolitan ducats) is granted to every monk, and of 60 to every lay-brother." About 250 convents were in this manner dissolved. Only a few hospices, and likewise the archives of Montecassino, Montevergine, and La Cava were retained; the mendicant monks, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered to remain in their former state.

In a subsequent law of the year 1809, it is said: "The force of circumstances imperatively commands the suppression of all convents without exception. But, to improve as much as possible the condition of those who are affected by this measure, every one in priest's orders shall receive yearly 96 dollars, every other 48 dollars, and the allowances to the members of convents already dissolved shall be diminished one-fifth." The annual allowance of the professed was afterwards fixed at 120 dollars, that of lay-brothers at 60, that of nuns at 9, and that of lay-sisters at 4½.*

Certain as it is that church and monastic property was recklessly seized and frequently squandered for reprehensible purposes, and that these harsh measures were, moreover, aggravated by scorn; still, on the other hand, the vast number of

* Bianchini, iii. 476.

the monks and nuns had had pernicious effects on the cultivation of the country and the improvement of the people, so that salutary fruits resulted immediately from these innovations. Since the year 1820, every thing has been moving in the former contrary direction. Many convents and religious foundations are restored, many new ecclesiastical fraternities founded, numberless donations and bequests made, the Jesuits received and endowed, and the government, taking the lead in all this, paying for or confirming it; till, perhaps, the ambition and arrogance of the clergy, awakened by their newly-regained power, may again produce violent reactions.

For the regulation of all ecclesiastical matters for the moment, a concordat was concluded with the papal court on the 21st of March, 1818, to the following effect:—The Catholic religion is the only religion of the kingdom; therefore, the instruction given in all universities, gymnasiums, and public and private schools, must accord with all and each of its doctrines. Beyond the Faro all archbishoprics and bishoprics are retained; but on this side of it they are subjected to new limitations. Every bishop shall have a fixed annual income of not less than 3000 ducati (dollars); every director of a religious foundation not less than 500; a parish priest in towns of above 5000 inhabitants at least 200, between 2000 and 5000 inhabitants at least

150, and in places under 2000 at least 100 dollars.

The pope nominates to consistorial abbeys which are not in the king's gift. To simple benefices (*benefizj semplici di libera collazione con fondazione ed erezione in titolo ecclesiastico*) the pope nominates for six months and the bishops for the six other months. The same regulation applies to canonries; but all persons appointed must be subjects of the king. The pope grants to the bishops the right to appoint tried and approved men as parish priests. If the patronage is vested in the king or a layman, the bishop inducts the person nominated, provided that he is found to be competent.

Ecclesiastical property not yet sold is to be given back to the church, and to be administered by four persons, two nominated by the king and two by the pope. The latter confirms the possession of church property already sold. The convents are to be restored, as far as the existing resources permit. Possessions not yet disposed of are to be divided among the convents which are to be again opened, without any regard to former title to the property. Monks not restored retain their allowances. The church has a right to acquire new possessions, and no ecclesiastical foundation shall be suppressed without the consent of the holy see. The pope shall have a right to confer every year benefices to

the amount of 12,000 ducats, on subjects of the States of the Church.

Ecclesiastical suits, especially such as relate to matrimonial matters, must be tried in the spiritual courts. Archbishops and bishops have a right of spiritual censure over clergy and laity, agreeably to the resolutions of the Council of Trent. The former are at liberty to hold intercourse (*comunicare*) with clergy and people, and to issue exhortations and charges on spiritual matters. The bishops, clergy, and people shall have a right to apply to the holy see, and to hold communication with it on all spiritual matters whatever; consequently, the laws, decrees, and circulars of the *liceat scrivere* are annulled.

Whenever the archbishops and bishops find that books printed in the country or imported from abroad contain anything contrary to the doctrines of the church or to morality, the government shall prohibit the sale of them.

The holy see grants permission (*accorda l'indulto*) to the king to nominate deserving persons to be archbishops and bishops. But, before they are canonically installed in the manner hitherto customary, they shall not take the administration upon themselves, and their installation depends on the confirmation of the pope. On the 20th of July, the rights of patronage, lay and ecclesiastical, which had been abolished, were re-established.

It cannot be said that the above-mentioned fixed incomes of the clergy (if, however, their number is necessary, and there is no other endowment) are too high; and many other provisions of the concordat appear perfectly consistent with the notions of the catholic world. But the 18th century would scarcely have conceded to the pope so much as the 19th has done; and it seems very doubtful whether the right of nominating bishops, clogged with such conditions, will always be sufficient to protect the state and the king from hierarchical encroachments. Many, at least, are already complaining of the severe restrictions on literature and science, frequently originating with the clergy; while others assert that the court of Rome has often used its influence to moderate violent passions, and to keep clergy and laity in order. It is true that the Neapolitan government does not allow the publication and application of any papal rescripts without its consent; and displays such firmness, nay, sometimes severity, (notwithstanding the concordat) in matters concerning the bishops and clergy, as the court of Rome would scarcely suffer a Protestant sovereign to exercise without reprimand.

In order to comprehend what has been done recently for, or rather against, the nobility and the feudal system, it is necessary to keep previously subsisting defects constantly in view. Thus Afan de Rivera, a well-informed and intelligent writer,

says: "Ever since the time of the Anjouvins, the exchequer and the feudal barons have pressed heavily upon the country. All the principal taxes were laid upon the lower classes, while the nobility and clergy were mostly exempted. To this were added, under the Spanish Habsburgers, a wretched oppressive administration, exactions of money merely to be sent abroad, excessive levies of soldiers, foolish monopolies of the government, attacks and plunder by the Saracens, pestilence and contagious diseases. Hence poverty, celibacy, inactivity, emigrations. The people, depressed by so much injustice and calamity, fell into a sort of apathy, from which no viceroy ever thought of rousing them. They durst not bake in their own ovens, grind at their own mills, press olives at their own presses, because ancient custom or privileges stood in the way."

Force had created and introduced the pretended right, and for the sake of a few highly-favoured persons the whole civil society was daily retrograding, till Charles III. interposed to check its backward course. He was, however, obliged to stop half way, and it was not till the 19th century that the feudal system, in all its parts, gave way to the more urgent wants and wishes of the times. By a law of Joseph's, of the year 1806, it is enacted: "The feudal system, and all feudal jurisdiction, are abolished; all towns, villages, hamlets, are subjected to

the general laws of the country. The nobility, however, transmit rank and title to their descendants in the order of primogeniture. All feudal dues to the exchequer cease, and feudal estates are subject to the same taxes as others. All burdens, services, and duties of a personal nature, which feudal laws were accustomed to require and to levy under whatever name or title, from communes or individuals, are abolished without compensation. Without compensation also are abolished all prohibitive rights (monopolies) in so far as they did not originate in purchase, or in a burdensome manner. Rivers are public property. The feudality of offices as well as *fideicommissa* shall cease; but rights, incomes, and dues attached to things and land, shall continue to subsist."

A second law of the year 1809 is still more rigid. By virtue of it were abolished all rights of pasturage which the lords exercised upon the meadows or lands of other persons; so were all tithes upon meat, all taxes upon cattle and fireplaces, without compensation. Any one who hopes to gain an exemption from this enactment must produce his proofs in the course of the year 1809, before the board to be appointed for this special purpose. How difficult it was to produce such proofs is apparent from those words of the law which define the grounds of decision. And if—it is there said—a compensation for service may appear possible, still the

total worth of the lands assigned for cultivation is fully compensated by the increase of persons and fireplaces, from which new dues and burdens of various kinds have been levied. Moreover, all these dues press more especially upon the lower classes of the people.

Well-founded as many of these complaints were respecting arbitrary impositions upon the poor and weak, the commission, acting upon such instructions and views, could not itself avoid falling into many precipitate and arbitrary proceedings and violations of property. Murat therefore dissolved it in 1810, and transferred its duties to the ordinary authorities. These duties were augmented, inasmuch as all services, relations of dependence, imposts, common rights, were declared dissoluble and redeemable;* and to this end averages of ten years and estimates by competent persons were taken for the groundwork. Disputes were mostly decided by the *juge de paix*, but in particular cases appeal might be made to a higher tribunal.

These important, and, upon the whole, in spite of many defects, salutary changes, had been so far carried into effect under foreign rule, that it was impossible to strike into a different track, or to

* A praiseworthy law relative to the division of common lands, of the year 1792, was unfortunately rendered inefficacious by opposition of all kinds.—BIANCHINI, *Storia delle Finanze di Napoli*, iii. 79.

replace things on their old footing. But, after Ferdinand's restoration, the spirit and temper of the government were so altered that it lent a more willing ear to the complaints of the possessors of feudal property, strove to obtain and secure for the nobility more favourable rights, confirmed the allodial succession in fiefs, and permitted the founding of majorats (in 1818 and 1822) upon the following conditions:—Nobles alone can found majorats, and each requires the confirmation of the crown. They must not exceed the amount of the property which the owner has a right to dispose of. None of them shall produce a larger income than 30,000, or a smaller than 2000 Neapolitan ducats, which may arise from land, ground rent, or money in the public funds.

The important effects of a legislation like that here described upon country and nation have been so frequently discussed, that any further consideration or opinion on the subject appears superfluous. A few local remarks in addition may not be misplaced.

1. The number of landed proprietors, as well as their activity, has been very much increased by it; though many of the smaller, by the unlimited division of landed property, have been at last forced to sell and to descend into the class of mere labourers. On the other hand, alienations of this kind led to the augmentation of a class of land-owners, whose

property forms perhaps the happiest medium between too little and too much.

2. The system of the *mezzadria*, the halfling, is almost unknown in the Neapolitan dominions. Proprietorship predominates, and, where that is wanting, lease and rent supply its place. The former, if not for a long term, at least for several years as in Sicily, where the leases, confined in general to three years, deter from all improvements and are the ruin of agriculture.

3. The nobility, with very few exceptions, care nothing at all about agriculture. For this disposition, unfortunately so general and so injurious in Italy, there were other peculiar reasons in Naples: in the first place, the insecurity of residence in country mansions; and secondly, the solicitude of the kings to draw the feudal nobles to the capital, and to make them dependent on the court. Neither of these reasons exists in the same degree as formerly, and thus the nobility will, it is to be hoped, become more and more convinced that he loses power and influence who is not active enough to acquire and not provident enough to save.

4. Though there is no want of capital in the country, the rate of interest is very high, and the difficulty of obtaining a loan very great. This arises from the distrust of the capitalists, occasioned by very defective arrangements respecting mortgages, erroneous or even knavish appraisements,

partiality of the authorities, tardiness of lawsuits, &c. Thus the agriculturist and the manufacturer are frequently in want of capital to go on with, or they are furnished with it on conditions, for the fulfilment of which no natural or safe profits can suffice. Hence bankruptcies and redoubled distrust.

LETTER CII.

Naples—Administration—Municipal Institutions.

Naples, July 9th.

Perhaps I had done better to have given a variety of statistical particulars relative to the extent, the nature, the population of the country, and the like, before entering upon the subjects of my last letters. But constitution and administration operate just as powerfully upon material circumstances as these do upon them, and so I will follow up my reports on the constitution, the clergy, and the nobility, with another on the administration. As this was copied under Joseph and Joachim almost entirely from the French model, and much connected with the ministry and the council of state has been retained, I abstain from repeating what is generally known on that subject, and extract what follows from the laws relative to towns and communes issued between the years 1806 and 1809.

The towns are divided, according to their population, into three classes, having fewer than 3000 inhabitants, from 3000 to 6000, and above 6000. Among the latter are reckoned also those which are the seat of an intendant, a court of appeal, or a tribunal of first instance. They are under the intendant of the province and the minister of the interior. The decurions, elected from among the heads of families paying taxes, consult, under the presidency of a syndic, on the affairs of the commune. All proposals relative to receipts and expenditure require the confirmation of higher authority. Additional centimes to the land-tax constitute the principal revenue.

In Naples, the magistracy consists of a syndic, 12 elect, 12 assistants, and 12 *canzellieri*, for the twelve divisions of the city. The canzellieri alone receive pay. All are appointed by the king, on the recommendation of the minister of the interior, in general for three years. The king, moreover, nominates thirty proprietors as decurions for four years.

The magistracy manages the property of the city, originates proposed measures, assesses the taxes, attends to the execution of higher orders relative to recruiting, quartering, public festivities, and the like; superintends the police of the markets and the paving of the streets, the relief of the

poor, charitable foundations, the fountains, aqueducts, stalls, &c.

Proposed regulations, and likewise the accounts of the year, are submitted to the decurions. The syndic alone corresponds with the intendant, as does the representative of each district with the syndic. The whole system of police is under the direction of a prefect.

So much for the laws of that time, which, from a prevailing predilection for centralisation, conferred no real power or importance on the communes. There is indeed reason to doubt whether, if greater concessions had been made, there would then have been the least obedience left, or whether in general a free municipal system is possible without powerful influence of the government, in cases where few persons are capable and disposed to tyrannise over the communes, or excited parties are opposed to one another.

After the return of King Ferdinand, there was issued in the year 1816 an important and circumstantial law relative to the general administration of the country, the principal provisions of which I subjoin. The administration refers either to the province, or to the district, or to the commune. The first officer in every province is the intendant. He is at the head of the whole administration, is the immediate director of all communes and public institutions, conducts the tax department, the po-

lice, and all military matters, unless these are assigned to other special authorities. His chief assistant and fellow-labourer is the secretary-general. The council (*consiglio*) of the intendancy, formed after the model of the French *conseil de prefecture*, consists of from three to five members; the intendant has the casting vote. Besides the right of judging in certain fiscal or administrative processes, it is the duty of this body to give its opinion when asked on a variety of subjects.

In every province there is further a provincial council composed of from fifteen to twenty members, which assembles once a year for at most twenty days, and must not consult upon any matters but such as are submitted to it. The intendant opens the sittings, and the resolutions are transmitted by him to the minister of the interior for further consideration, distribution, and reply. The council of the province examines the proposals of the district councils, draws up under the direction of the intendant the projects proposed for the province, gives opinions concerning the course of the administration, appoints deputies to superintend and inspect public works, proposes resources for defraying the expenses of them, examines the accounts of disbursements, &c.

The district council of ten members has the same functions within a smaller circle as the provincial council in the province.

In every commune there must be, for the pur-

poses of administrations, a syndic, two elect, a decurionat or communal council, and a proportionate number of subordinate officers. The syndic, with the advice of the elect, conducts the whole administration and is president of the decurions. These assess the taxes, propose the additional centimes, examine projects, and have a right to express their opinion respecting all the concerns of the town. They nominate the syndic — this nomination, however, is subject to the approbation of the higher powers—the elect and the inferior municipal officers. They propose a triple list of persons for the provincial and district councils. The number of the decurions is from 8 to 30, acccording to the population of the place, and at least one third of them must be able to read and write.* Their consultations are held with closed doors, and none of their resolutions can be carried into execution without the approbation of the intendant. In case of disagreement, the ministry decides. Naples has a syndic, twelve elect, and thirty decurions.

In every commune a list is drawn up of persons qualified for town, district, and provincial officers. In order to be admitted into it a person must pos-

* In Prussia all public and communal officers must be able to read and write. Nay, when the commanders of regiments find that a recruit is not master of these attainments, they are required to communicate the fact to the proper authorities, that an investigation may be set on foot respecting the deficient or fruitless instruction.

sess, in towns of the first class, an income liable to taxation of at least 24 Neapolitan ducats (dollars); or have carried on for five years some liberal trade (*artiliberali*). In towns of the second and third class an income of 18 and 12 ducats is sufficient, and the carrying on of some trade, or a farm of a certain extent. One fourth of the decurions go out annually; the intendant extracts from the above-mentioned list thrice the number to supply their places, and the minister chooses at pleasure.

The decurions of every commune having under 3000 inhabitants propose one candidate for the provincial council; the decurions of each town containing from 3000 to 6000 inhabitants propose two for the provincial and two for the district council. Still larger towns have a right to propose three. They must stand in the list of eligible persons, and have an income of at least 400 ducats. From among those proposed the government nominates the new fourth of the councillors who annually enter upon office.

The syndics and the elect continue in office three years, but they may be confirmed for three years more, if they themselves and the decurions wish it, and the government consents.

The intendants have a yearly salary of from 3000 to 4400 ducats; the secretaries-general from 940 to 1300; and the councillors of intendancy from 500 to 700. None of the syndics or of the elect receives

pay; those of Naples only were formerly allowed compensations.

The property of towns is required to be kept separate from that of the state and of private persons, and, as far as circumstances permit, to be placed out at interest. All exemptions from communal burdens are abolished.

In case the imposition of a tax on articles of consumption should become necessary for the purpose of covering the town-disbursements, it is laid in preference on articles of luxury, and not on those of prime necessity. The tax on grinding in particular is never to exceed one carlin per tomolo.

Such are the principal provisions of this law. That, in its application, all deciding power lies in the hands of the intendant and of the government; on that point there is but one voice. Neither can it well be otherwise where it appeared necessary to specify that at least one third of the deputies of terms should be able to read and write. But whether every thing possible is done on the part of the government to train up the communes to a more living, a more efficient existence; whether, in proportion to the extent and the enlightenment of the communes, their rights and their independence are extended; whether the citizens display so much intelligence, moderation, and impartiality, that the government can without apprehension allow them to act more freely — these and other questions of

equal importance are not easy, and least of all for a foreigner, to answer and to decide.

LETTER CIII.

Naples—Penal and Civil Laws—Statistics of Crime.

Naples, July 10th.

As the new Neapolitan code of laws is essentially copied from the French, I need not give any general account of it; I shall therefore merely notice some points, which are either treated differently or derive particular interest from their bearing upon country and people.

The civil code treats in three books and 2187 paragraphs of persons and things, the various kinds of property, and the way of acquiring it.

With respect to marriage, it has no civil validity (either for the parties themselves or for the children) if it is not contracted in the sight of the church, in the forms prescribed by the council of Trent. Before the wedding (*celebrazione*), the couple must, however, fulfil what is enjoined concerning the civil act (*atto civile*) for the execution of which civil officers are appointed. The law of the country limits its provisions concerning marriage to the civil and political effects; but leaves, on the other hand, all the duties that religion imposes untouched and unchanged. No marriage can lawfully take place

before the bridegroom is fourteen and the bride twelve years of age. The permission for complete divorces, granted in the time of the French, is abolished. The husband can only prefer a complaint on account of adultery. The guilty wife is confined from three months to two years in a house of correction. The adulterer is fined from 50 to 500 ducats. If the husband, after the expiration of his guilty wife's confinement, perceives no signs of penitence or amendment, he can send her for five years to a convent (*far la deimorare in un retiro*). Inquiries concerning paternity are forbidden, but allowed relative to maternity.

No one who has children may give while living or bequeath at his death more than half his property to others. If a father dies intestate, the children inherit in equal shares.

Unless there is an express agreement to the contrary, every farmer has a right to renewal of his lease. The death of the farmer, or the sale of the land, does not dissolve the contract. The farmer has no right to remission, if the loss is less than half the yearly produce.

The principles and application of the administrative law (*droit administratif*) are copied from the French mode of proceeding.

The penal code awards, as capital punishments, beheading, hanging, and shooting. Theft is punished with imprisonment; murder, together with

robbery, with death. Fraudulent bankrupts are imprisoned in chains for from one to two years. He who pirates a book loses all the copies, and is confined for a longer or shorter period, according to circumstances. Similar punishments are awarded to the managers of theatres who violate the property of authors. Whoever burns, breaks in pieces, or destroys the host, in contumely of the catholic religion, shall be hanged. Whoever teaches against the catholic doctrine in order to change it shall be banished from the kingdom for life. Ecclesiastics, who, in the performance of their official duties, criticize laws in the intention of exciting discontent against the government, shall be imprisoned for a longer or a shorter time.

Begging is punished with imprisonment; firstly, when it is practised against the laws in places where there are public institutions for paupers; secondly, when healthy persons beg from mere habit; thirdly, when needy persons proceed to threats or acts against the authorities.*

Participation in secret societies is punished with banishment, nay, even with death, in case of more heinous guilt, or an intention to overthrow the government.

The civil code treats in minute detail and with great predilection the new institution of arbitrators

* All these useful provisions are not actually enforced in practice.

or mediators (*conciliatori*). The special purpose of their appointment is to strive with all their might to put an end to hatred and animosities among the inhabitants of the communes; they are likewise, on application, to settle disputes as they arise. The arbitrator is moreover empowered to adjust finally personal disputes about moveable things up to the value of five ducats; but he must not interfere in any contention about immoveable objects.

The proceedings in penal cases are upon the whole modelled after the French, and in many parts public; but the institution of the jury has not been adopted.

According to the commercial code, all those are considered as bankrupts,

1. Whose household expenses, of which a written account is required to be kept, are declared to be extravagant;

2. Who lose large sums at play, or merely in unsafe speculations;

3. Who, though their debts exceed their property by 50 per cent., have, nevertheless, borrowed money and parted with goods at prices far below their value.

The cases in which a bankruptcy must be declared fraudulent are determined with the like severity.

The statistics of civil and penal jurisprudence, published by Parisio, the minister, in 62 and 45

tables, deserve particular and most honourable mention. They exhibit the number, the object, the treatment, the increase and decrease of law-suits, the time that they lasted, the nature of the decision, the activity of each authority, &c. which might furnish occasion for many interesting reflexions, if this were the proper place for them. I shall extract only the following: Among 5813 accused there were 5466 males, and 347 females, 99 under 14, and 13 between 71 and 80 years of age; 1293 between 26 and 30; 1236 between 21 and 25; 849 between 31 and 35; 753 between 15 and 20; 631 between 36 and 40. Among these 3000 were unmarried, 2421 married, 392 widowed persons. Again, 3316 were country-people, 1923 artisans and servants (*artigiani e domestici*), 364 proprietors of land (*possidenti*), 139 engaged in liberal arts (*arti liberali*) 71 civil officers. There is one accused to every 1020 persons, one condemned to 1438: 95 accused were sentenced to death: 104 accusations took place on account of offences against religion, 996 for slaying, (from parricide down to the accidental and unintentional taking of life) 431 for wounding, 86 for rape, 1703 for violations of property. There is one accused to 540 males, 8586 females, 1099 unmarried, 903 married, 1142 widowed persons. In Capitanata, there is one condemned to 607 persons, in Abrezzo ultra, one to 2611. The proportion of the

accused was one in 559 country-people, 199 artisans and servants, 508 occupied in liberal arts, 2819 landed proprietors. A new and instructive survey will be speedily published for the years 1834 to 183.

I have already remarked elsewhere that the greater or smaller number of crimes often indicates the state of jurisprudence rather than that of morals, and that external circumstances very often have the most important influence in this particular; for instance, increase in the price of wood without any rise of wages for daily labour in the number of persons committed for stealing wood.

LETTER CIV.

Naples—Population—Military Establishment—Navy.

Naples, July 11th.

My communications have no claim to the character of a methodically arranged and scientifically progressive whole. I may, therefore, venture to treat to-day, for the sake of variety, of a different subject—of the country itself, its nature and population.*

The kingdom of Naples on this side of the Strait contains 24,971 Italian square miles, and is divided

* See Del Re's excellent description of the country.

into provinces, districts, circles, and communes. The greatest part of the country is mountainous and hilly; but there are plains, the most extensive of which, in Capitanata, comprehends nearly one-sixth of the kingdom.

The highest mountains, the Gran Sasso, of 9577 Paris feet, and the Majella of 8684 feet, are covered with perpetual snow. The coasts are 1144 Italian miles in length. Ebb and flood are not alike in all months; being lowest in August (1 foot, 7 inches), highest in December (2 feet, 2 inches). Storms do perhaps more damage to the coasts than the tides. There is no space for large rivers; but there is a greater discharge of water westward than eastward. Since the hills have been stripped of their wood, the quantity of water has decreased.

The largest of all the lakes is that of Fucino or Celano: it is 44 Italian miles in circumference, and has a superficies of about 100 square miles. The rain that falls annually on the east side amounts to 25 inches, and that on the west side to 39 inches, which is of essential consequence to agriculture, the nature of crops, and the cultivation of timber. Under the latitude of 38° (a little to the south of Reggio and Palermo) the sun rises on the 21st of June, at 4 hours 37 minutes; on the 1st of January, at 7 hours 15 minutes; and sets, on the 21st of June, at 7 hours 23 minutes, and on the 1st of January at 4 hours 45 minutes.

Of the whole surface of the kingdom about 14,100 square miles are in tillage and orchard, and an Italian square mile contains 1012⅔ moggios.

	Moggios.
Of that cultivated surface there belong to the crown about	37,000
To public institutions, churches, and convents	258,000*
To the communes	1,317,000
To private persons	1,117,000

Another calculation by Rotondo gives the following results:—

	Moggios.
Superficial extent	25,275,000
Towns, villages, waters, roads	5,275,000
Cultivated land	25,000,000
Of which in wood	2,831,000
Uncultivated	2,880,000

Since the separation of the kingdom from Spain, the population (which previously to that event was gradually declining) has been steadily increasing.

It amounted on this side of the Strait,

In the year 1781	to	4,709,000
1793	„	4,828,000
1832	„	5,818,000
1835	„	5,946,000

* In all cases, I choose from among the amounts, which vary extremely, such as after careful investigation appear to me to be most authentic, or at any rate least doubtful.

From the statistical accounts of the kingdom of Naples recently published, I extract the following: In the year 1838, there were born 13,228, of whom 6850 were boys, and 6378 girls. There died 12,993, 6962 of the male, and 6031 of the female sex. The population of the city amounted on the 1st of January 1839 to 336,537 persons. The number of suicides was 22, of whom 12 were foreigners; 9408 strangers arrived, and 8407 departed.

During the rule of Joseph and Joachim, the Neapolitan military institutions corresponded in all essentials with those of France, and these have been since retained in many principal points, but changed again and again in many particulars. I cannot enter by any means into these particulars, and least of all when they are connected with the technical department of the military science; the following on the other hand are of more general interest.

By virtue of a law of the 21st of June, 1833, the military establishment comprehends 6 generals, 14 marshals, and 30 brigadiers.

The infantry consists of two regiments of grenadier guards, one regiment of Jäger guards, 12 regiments of the line, 4 Swiss regiments, and 6 battalions of Jägers. There are 7 regiments of cavalry in peace, and 8 in war.

To every regiment of infantry belong in war

3 chaplains, 4 surgeons, 12 musicians, 1 tailor, 1 shoemaker, &c. The gendarmerie is constituted in a similar manner, and destined for purposes that are well known. According to another statement, the whole army contains in peace about 30,000, and in war 60,000 men.

The principles of recruiting and enlistment have not always been the same. According to a law of 1818, voluntary enlistment was combined with compulsory service. Those liable to the latter were divided into five classes, from the age of 21 to 25. On this side the strait three persons were to be levied out of every 2,000 souls, and one on the other side. The following were exempt from the conscription: civil officers who received a weekly salary of more than 15 dollars per month, married men, under 21 years of age, only sons, widowers with children, graduates, (*laureati*) who practised their profession, such as have obtained prizes (*premiati*) from academies and universities, members of ecclesiastical seminaries. Not more than one son must be taken out of any family. The levy takes place annually by lot, and substitutes are, under circumstances, accepted.

The laws of 1821 and 1823 add: the period of service for the infantry is 6, for the cavalry 8 years. From the completion of the 18th to the completion of the 25th year, every one is liable to the conscription. The minister of the interior determines the number

of recruits required from each province in proportion to its population, and the intendant fixes that to be furnished by the districts. The new law of 1834 fixes the time of service at five years in the army, and five years in the reserve. Gendarmes, artillerymen, and volunteers, serve eight years, without reserve. In Naples the number of recruits levied is according to the population. There are seven classes, from 18 years and a day to 24 years and a day. The recruit must measure at least five feet. Several other exemptions have been added to those already specified, for instance, any person who is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of a family. The only brother of an ecclesiastic or a monk is treated in almost all respects as an only son. The law enumerates no fewer than 145 different diseases, which exempt from military service.

In the year 1818, a provincial militia, or landwehr, was instituted. It was to comprise about the one hundredth part of the population, to attend specially to the preservation of public order and security, and in extraordinary cases to assist the regular army. From the 21st to the 35th year those belonging to this force were placed in the moveable companies, from the 36th to the 50th in the immoveable. Persons belonging to the following classes were more particularly bound to enter into the militia: proprietors of land, who pay at least 5 dollars land-tax, civil officers who receive a

salary of at least 50 dollars, shopkeepers, tradesmen, and in general persons of unblemished character. As this institution had not answered the expectations in the year 1820, it was suppressed in 1821, and has not since been restored. On the other hand, there is both in the towns and in the country a sort of safety-watch, which not unfrequently supports the gendarmerie, or is supported by the latter. The soldiers have at different times been usefully employed in public works, for instance, in paving the streets.

The royal navy consists of two ships of the line, four frigates, two cutters, and a number of smaller vessels, carrying together 496 guns. There are public institutions for the education of the officers.

LETTER CV.

Naples — Schools — Universities — Law relative to Theatres —Borboni Society—Duty on Imported Books—Inadequacy of Italian Universities.

Naples, July 13th.

I shall to-day give you some particulars concerning the laws relative to the schools, universities, &c., and in so doing I shall separate the time of Joseph and Joachim from the subsequent period. Those two kings issued (after the French fashion) abundance of ordinances on these subjects, partly from real concern for their interest, partly out of

ostentation, and for the sake of effect; but, unluckily, very few of the provisions decreed by them were carried into execution, chiefly owing to the want of money.

According to a law of 1806, every place, the population of which exceeded 3,000 inhabitants, was to pay a schoolmaster and a schoolmistress out of the funds of the commune, to impart instruction in the christian religion, and the first rudiments of learning. It must not be taken for granted, as I have observed, that the object of this law was fulfilled, but rather that an existing want of schools caused it to be issued. In Naples, the law of 1808 directed 11 girls' schools to be established at the expence of the city. In places of the third class, (law of 1810) the parish priests may likewise be schoolmasters. The commune finds room, and pays six dollars per month, and the scholar one carlin monthly. The decurions may release not more than one fifth of the scholars from this payment. Parents and guardians are enjoined to send their children to school, into which all who have attained their fifth year must be admitted.

Above the schools there were to be, after the French fashion, gymnasiums, lyceums, and universities. By virtue of the first law of 1806, the university of Naples was to have five faculties, with thirty-three professorships, six for law, one for divinity, one for philosophical morality and re-

ligion, seven for medicine, &c. It abolished the lectures on the law of nations, (afterwards re-established) civil and ecclesiastical institutions, rudiments of theology, (*teologia primaria*). Thomas of Aquino, history of the councils, Roman literature, (Greek was previously out of the question) and general history. For all the philosophical sciences, properly so called, but one professor was granted, for history none; on the other hand, a professor for worms and microscopic animalculæ is specified. The salary of the professors was to be from 200 to 400 dollars per annum. They were required to hold three lectures a week, of at least an hour and a half each. In the first half hour the professor was to dictate, in the second to explain, and in the third to examine. The council, or senate, for the conduct of all university matters, was to consist of the royal prefect, six other royal civil officers, six professors, a presiding member, and a secretary.

These inadequate appointments and regulations were completed in the years 1811 and 1812. The faculty of the mathematical sciences was to have 9 professors, medicine 7, divinity 4, for doctrine, archæology, ecclesiastical history, and exegesis. The faculty of law was to have seven professors; for the law of nature and nations, civil law, penal law, commercial law, law-practice, Roman law, statistics, and economy. The literary-philosophical faculty numbered ten professorships: for Italian

eloquence, Latin language and eloquence, Greek and Roman literature, Hebrew language, Arabic language, criticism and diplomacy, morality, chronology, ideology.

The university has a rector, and each faculty a dean, whom the king appoints from among three persons proposed to him for two years. The professors wear a particular dress and a medal; they have the *entrée* to court. They must not teach at one and the same time in a university and a gymnasium. A professor receives at first 115 lire (francs) per month; at the end of five years 150 lire, and of fifteen years 200 lire, which is the highest salary. Out of the fees paid for degrees, he may receive annually as much as 410 lire, and the dean twice that sum. The salary and the other receipts of the rector may amount to 4,400 lire. It was made obligatory on many persons to take the academical degrees. The students were to bring with them a whole series of papers and testimonials, and to commence their studies in the philosophical faculty. Every two months they were to obtain from the professors certificates that they had attended the lectures.

In every province there was to be at least one gymnasium (in Naples two,) with an income of 6000 dollars, and teachers for Latin, Greek, Italian, mathematics, logic, ethics and metaphysics, natural philosophy, geography, and chronology.

Of history no mention is made; on the other hand, teachers of writing, drawing, fencing, dancing, and French, are specified. Such were the directions given on patient paper.

The superintendence of the theological seminaries was left in the hands of the bishops; but the intendants were to be present at the public examinations, and no pupil was to be admitted till he had completed his 18th year.

The Royal Society of Sciences consisted, agreeably to a law of 1808, of three academies, for history and belles lettres with 20 members, for the exact sciences with 24, for the fine arts with 10. The first time the king appointed the members, subsequently they were to be elected by majority of votes. The president, likewise elected, was changed every six months. The members wore a light blue embroidered uniform.—In 1811, Joachim decreed that the Society should consist of two academies, the first for the sciences, the second for philology and fine arts. Each division might have 30 ordinary, 30 honorary, and 60 corresponding members.

For schools for the arts and trades and polytechnic schools, ordinances were at least drawn up. The libraries, pictures, statues, and other collections of the suppressed convents, were to be preserved and given up to the schools or other public institutions—an injunction which has frequently been evaded. A special commission was charged

to attend to the preservation and arrangement of the archives. A law of 1807 directs that no book shall be printed or imported without the permission of the minister of the police; neither shall any be used as a groundwork in public instruction, without the permission of the minister of the interior; or in seminaries and churches without the permission of the minister for religion.

In the year 1811 was issued a circumstantial law relative to theatres, essentially to this effect. A company of actors purposing to perform dramas or operas must first prove to the chief intendant that it has obtained the author's permission to do so. Every actor, singer, or dancer, receives from the chief intendant a patent, or appointment, in which it is specified whether he is qualified for theatres of the first and second class. These testimonials must moreover express his rank, that is to say, whether he is a first, second, or third rate actor, dancer, &c., or a mere figurant, and the like. These patents are countersigned by the police, and confer the right of performing in the provincial theatres also. Without the approbation of the intendant appointed by the king, no play can be performed, neither can a passport to go abroad be granted to any actor, singer, or dancer. Every manager of a theatre must state what resources he has at his command. If he becomes bankrupt, he cannot obtain a new licence without giving security. Without such

licence no itinerant company can perform or *improvise*. In Naples, the chief intendant and certain persons appointed for the purpose adjust all disputes between managers and actors; in the provinces the intendant decides. Every company shall give annually two representations for the benefit of the poor.—I find that the theatre of San Carlo now receives a yearly allowance of 57,000, and the Florentino of 6000 dollars, but know not whether any further advantages may accrue to them from public institutions or from the court.

The re-action in the general opinion, which prevailed after the restoration of the old sovereignty, manifested itself also in the schools in regard to the choice of subjects and books of instruction, as well as in directions relative to prayers, beads, attending mass, and the like. In the smaller places, the clergyman is allowed to give instruction for a moderate compensation—an arrangement which one cannot but approve. This proviso, however, sounds rather strange: No salary can be assigned for a schoolmistress for the girls, in those communes where there is none that can read, write, and give instruction. It was no doubt the knowledge of this and other circumstances of the kind that gave occasion to a well-informed man to assert in the Annals of Statistics (xxiv. 315,) that in Lombardy ten times as much is done for the elementary instruction of the people as in the Neapolitan dominions. To

this, too, it is owing that in Naples there are so many who earn a livelihood by writing letters for others, and even for well-dressed persons who cannot write themselves. Galanti, in his Description of Naples (p. 211,) asserts that "out of about 100,000 inhabitants from 10 to 18 years of age, only four or five thousand were receiving instruction; while the proportion in the provinces was still more unfavourable."

Neither was enough done for the university. The salaries of the professors were fixed at from 360 to 460 dollars; with all the subsidiary sources of income, none exceeded 660 dollars. In 1819 the number of the professors of law was limited to four: two for Roman law, one for the civil code, and one for the four other codes, the law of nature, the law of nations, and political economy. The students are not admitted to any academical degree unless they produce testimonials that they have attended the churches. They pay no fees.

The Borboni Society superseded the Royal Society of Sciences. It consists of three divisions—1st, the Academy for Herculaneum and Archæology, with 20 members; 2nd, the Academy of Sciences, with 30; and 3rd, the Fine Arts, with 10 ordinary members. At elections, at least two-thirds of the members must be present, and at least half of the votes and one more must be favourable. For every attendance at the meetings, and every paper acknow-

ledged to possess merit, a medal of the value of six dollars is awarded.

Complaints are made, (and as it appears, justly,) not only of the severity of the temporal and spiritual censorship, but also of the duty on books. Of every native illustrated work five copies must be delivered, of every other eight copies. Books imported from abroad formerly paid an ad valorem duty of only two per cent; now every octavo volume imported pays 3 carlines, every quarto 6, and every folio 9 carlines—an enormously high duty, while in Prussia, about 4 carlines only (half a dollar) are paid for a whole hundred-weight of imported books. Nay, I have been credibly informed that a copy of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, every expence and charge for which has been paid as far as Terracina, nevertheless costs 600 florins per year in Messina.

Many reasons have been assigned in justification of these heavy duties, but all equally absurd. They are imposed, it is alleged, to encourage the home book-trade; but the impolicy of such extravagant protecting duties has been long proved, and the importation of books from abroad, mostly printed in foreign languages, cannot have any effect on Neapolitan printing or not printing. Government wishes, we are further told, to prevent the people from laying out money on bad books—an absurd precaution, and a silly guardianship. It wishes to prevent the introduction of bad and immoral books;

as if there were not likewise good and moral books, or the degree of goodness and excellence could be ascertained by the size, &c. In point of fact, a general hatred of science and literary cultivation, which conceals itself behind pretexts of all sorts, lies at the bottom of this system; for the most arbitrary absolutism might devise other and more suitable means for separating the good from the bad, and excluding the latter. None has any longer the courage to defend these imposts; none has the courage and the firmness to abolish them.

A law of 1822 relative to excavations deserves mention. These researches must not be made without permission, neither must the articles found be sold or repaired. A particular commission decides on the value of the objects, and whether they shall be purchased or not.

The annual lectures at the universities commence on the 5th of November, and end on the 30th of June. No lectures are delivered on certain saints' days and birthdays, in the festival weeks, and on Thursdays throughout the years.

I shall not repeat the observations so often made on the Italian universities. History and public law are wholly wanting, philosophy, properly so called, in a great measure, and the theological faculty is scarcely deserving of that name. The material sides of science are universally placed conspicuously in the fore-ground, and the intel-

lectual thrust into the back-ground. What is deficient in theology at the university, the episcopal seminaries are intended to supply, and wherever want of historical knowledge and sagacity manifests itself, the police has endeavoured to direct or to drive all stray sheep into the track that it would have them pursue. As this, however, may sound rather too derogatory and unfavourable, I shall quote a passage from the temperate Bianchini's History of the Finances (III. 814.) He says: "'The instruction of the lower classes is extremely trifling, (*pochissima*) and the other classes rather gain instruction for themselves than derive it from the public institutions. It is calculated that, in several of the provinces, scarcely one in 150 or 160 persons goes to school to learn to read and write."

With this is connected the remarkable circumstance that even the sciences of the faculties are studied more out of than in the university, and taught partly by university professors, partly by other persons. Those professors, I was assured by a well-informed man, are obliged to seek these aids to keep themselves from starving; and a student added that those lectures at the university, for which a scudo per month is paid, are much better attended than such as are gratuitous. On account of the great number of holidays, too, the progress made there is but slow; whereas a student gains time by means of private lectures, and can obtain

the academical degrees without having ever been at the university, if he but proves at the examination that he possesses the requisite knowledge and punctually pays the fees.

Thus the imperfection of the principal university causes recourse to be had to the bad substitute of many petty universities, by which completeness of the plan of instruction and comprehensiveness and solidity of study must assuredly suffer.

Loud and general are the complaints of the levity and partiality with which professorships at the university are conferred frequently on the most ignorant persons, to the exclusion of truly clever and qualified men. Under such circumstances, it must be regarded as an essential benefit that it is accurately determined by a law, obtained with some difficulty by Mazzetti, Archbishop of Seleucia, what publicly acknowledged merits a professor must possess, or to what oral or written examination each candidate must submit. The defects of this mode of proceeding might easily be demonstrated; but it is a point gained, inasmuch as secret intrigues and interested patronage are done away with, because questions, answers, examination, and decision, are public, nay, circulated everywhere by means of the press.

LETTER CVI.

Naples—Agriculture—Corn-Trade—Forests.

Naples, July 14th.

ALLOW me to lay before you to-day some desultory observations on agriculture and the management of the forests in the Neapolitan dominions. The abolition of the feudal system, the sale of the possessions of the convents and the domains, as well as many other laws, could not fail to have great influence on agriculture. Thus, for instance, a great deal of landed property was transferred from the hands of indolent people of quality into those of active persons, and the number of independent proprietors increased. Numberless services and restrictions were put an end to, and hence arose the possibility of a more free application and greater productiveness.

This new liberty again had its dark side, not only in regard to the destruction of wood, which I shall notice presently, but in many other respects. Thus the new owners were frequently in want of the requisite capital; they fell into the hands of usurers and speculators, and were soon obliged to dispose of their recently-acquired property. Wealthy purchasers, on the other hand, who could

not or did not choose to manage their estates themselves, trusted to incompetent persons, and thereby frequently sustained a loss that deterred them from further attempts.

Economical societies which were established were not wholly unproductive of beneficial effects, but could not conquer the repugnance of the great to study agriculture, and to pursue it themselves. Hence a writer of this country* observes: "The country life, as it is called, of the Neapolitans consists merely in breathing a different air and spending more money than in the city. More numerous parties, more ruinous play, more magnificent entertainments, more expensive diversions, in every thing the reverse of what country life ought to be—in such things it is that the villegiatura consists." Goldoni has represented and satirized this perverted practice in much the same manner.

As the right mode of managing the estates of the nobles has not yet been discovered, so the management of the property of the communes still leaves much to be desired. At any rate, the laws and the custom of letting them for a short time is attended with considerable disadvantages; and, besides, they generally get into the hands of the persons who have the greatest influence in the place,

* Galanti, *Napoli*, 220.

and who exert it in their own favour, or in that of others.

Peace and war, internal disturbances, want of a market, &c., have likewise operated detrimentally on agriculture, and not less so the vacillating principles concerning the corn-trade. Hence Pecchio says:* "In Tuscany and Lombardy, the happy perseverance of writers has produced a more liberal legislation on the corn trade; but in the kingdom of Naples, the old prejudices continued unconquerable. From 1401 to the end of the 18th century, the trade in corn was always conducted there on false principles. All sorts of the worst restrictions and precautionary measures succeeded one another; magazines, depots, the farming of the trade in bread and flour, fixed prices for corn, &c.—and the inevitable consequences were scarcity, dearth, and the decline of agriculture."

The government long conceived that the best way to counteract these evils was to command accurate statements to be rendered of all existing stocks, and to fix how much each was at liberty to sell, and how much he was required to store away. This system gave rise to numberless checks and restrictions, and the upshot of all these efforts was—a rise in the price of bread. Though many errors of this kind were relinquished, nay, though at times the corn-trade was suddenly thrown quite open, fresh

* *Storia dell' economia pubblica*, p. 226.

apprehensions continually arose, and the import and export of horses, horned cattle, oil, and corn, were (even down to the present day) sometimes allowed, at others prohibited, which unsettled state of things opposes prodigious obstacles to the execution of agricultural plans.*

It was in Sicily, in particular, that the establishment of general corn-magazines, (*caricatoji*), long found strenuous advocates, and it was not till very recently, as I shall show bye-and-bye, that it was relinquished; now, on the other hand, houses for lending money upon corn, (*monti frumentarii*) are in great vogue. The communes usually raise, by means of additional centimes to the land-tax, a capital for the purchase of corn, which is advanced to the poor for seed, and repaid at harvest-time, with an increase of about six per cent. In this way, it is true, an urgent extraordinary necessity may sometimes be relieved; but, upon the whole, the proceeding is too complicated, tedious, and costly; besides, such a practice has in general the effect of discouraging a disposition to economy and foresight, and of leading men to the consumption beforehand of the growing crop, instead of defraying the current expenses out of the savings of the past.

The debts in which most of the nobility are in-

* Agriculture is nevertheless in the most flourishing state in some parts of the kingdom, for instance in Terra di Lavoro.

volved, operate in a similar manner; nay, through their own fault and defective laws, they are almost without credit. If the nobility are too idle or too proud to follow professions which produce and bring in something; if other classes outstrip them in this respect, while they continue to live beyond their income—their ruin must be inevitable. The laws relative to mortgages, valuations, sales by auction, are so one-sided and defective, the proceedings against debtors so difficult and dilatory, that capitalists are shy of lending money on landed property. Or such incredibly high interest is paid, that no sort of employment of the capital can make a return for it. A loan institution, on the plan of the Prussian, and conducted with due caution, could not fail to be of the greatest benefit to the country.

The suppression of the feudal system and feoffments of trust, the sale of the domains and of monastic property, the division of the lands of the communes, &c., proved, as I have observed, extremely beneficial to industry and agriculture: they led, at the same time, to the felling of woods and the conversion of the land to tillage. It is true that many of them were managed in the worst manner, or wholly unproductive; it is true that the turning them into tillage was in many places a permanent advantage. But in the years between 1807 and 1811 most people thought only

of the coming day and of immediate profit; hence the reckless felling of timber, and the introduction of tillage in tracts lately occupied by forests, and mostly situated on hills. The mischievous consequences were but too soon apparent. After a few favourable harvests, the soil, left unmanured, was found to be exhausted; it was exposed to the redoubled violence of storms and torrents of rain, sudden inundations and long drought, failure of the springs, the washing away of the mould, the rolling down of stones, to the great injury of the lands that lay below.

For these and such like reasons it was at first forbidden to turn the sites of woods into tillage without permission; and a still more general law was issued on the 18th of October, 1819, by which the superintendence over all the forests in the kingdom (of course those belonging to the king, the churches, the communes, and private individuals) was committed to a special board, subordinate, however, to the ministry of the finances and the interior. No proprietor of forests, it is further said, shall fell timber without permission, or break up the ground either for tillage or for new plantations. The conversion of the ground to the purposes of tillage shall only take place,

1. When the site is so level, or has so little slope that there is no reason whatever for apprehension on account of the lands and roads situated below it;

2. When the extent of the woodland is insignificant, when it is separated from other woods, and is surrounded by land in tillage;

3. When the soil appears to be permanently fertile; and

4. When the province abounds in timber.

This law found many panegyrists, but likewise many opponents. People complained of useless requisitions, erroneous premises, vexatious interference with property; hence the efforts to keep secret what was done, to hold back evidence of transgression, to quash the sentence against convicted persons.

A new law of the 21st of August, 1826, was issued to put an end to these complaints and abuses. The superintendence of the authorities over private woods was, therefore, limited solely to the preservation and improvement of them, and the duty, which the government had previously levied on the fall of private timber, as a compensation for the costs of management, was remitted. Woodland shall not be tilled without permission; and this shall not be granted for plots which have a rapid declivity. Woodland which has been turned to tillage with or without permission, since 1815, shall be again planted with trees, if the site is steep and injury arises from the change to the lands situated lower down. The same must be done if the conversion to tillage took place before 1815, and the

owner fails within two years to point out means for preventing the threatened mischief. The forest officers make the necessary inquiries on the subject; but the intendant decides respecting tillage or planting. 'Forests which are not yet divided, and are become absolutely free property, (whether belonging to churches, foundations, communes, or private persons,) remain under the superintendence of the state, and are treated and managed as woods of the state. Irregular falls of wood shall no where take place, and minute directions relative to their time and extent, pasturage, &c. shall be enforced.

This law seems calculated to remedy many evils. It is likewise asserted, (and, it is to be hoped, truly,) that the cleared ground may be again planted and covered with wood at a small expense, if only the cattle, and especially the goats, are kept long enough from the hills. The immoderate conversion of woodland to tillage seems now to be checked, but by no means the immoderate felling of timber.

It is wrong to assume that no want of wood can take place, because it will always be produced in proportionate quantity to the demand: for this production requires many years; whereas the owner derives more profit from cutting it down than from sacrificing his momentary advantage to the interests of posterity and the general welfare.

Nay, it is maintained that this well-meant law has had a directly contrary result, and afforded occa-

sion for procuring a sort of authorization of the grossest abuses from thoughtless or interested officers. The very government (in contradiction with itself) even furnishes occasion for the destruction of a great deal of wood; since, for instance, it lays a heavy duty on the importation of coal, or prohibits the exportation of ship-timber, which is then used for fuel or for making charcoal, to the diminished profit of the owner.

LETTER CVII.

Naples—The Domains—The Tavoliere in Apulia—Roads—Commerce—Prince of Cassaro.

Naples, July 15th.

To the preceding accounts I subjoin to-day some particulars concerning the management of the domains and the very peculiar Tavoliere of Apulia.

Immediately after the accession of Joseph to the throne, a new board was instituted for the domains, and the management, not only of the estates of the crown, but of all vacant church property and all the possessions of the dissolved monasteries, was assigned to it. The domains were sold or let at a rent, or farmed to the highest bidder. In the latter case the produce was calculated according to the amount last given, or by the land-tax, or by the income of the last two years.

The Tavoliere of Apulia is a mostly level plain belonging to the crown, of about 74 Italian square miles, (about 4½ German, and 95 English) which has for ages been used only for pasturage, nay, was not allowed to be applied to any other purpose. So far back as 1447, Alphonso I. issued circumstantial laws relative to the division of the ground, the levy of rents, the number of the cattle to be driven upon it, superintendence, mortgages, authorities, &c. In summer, the herds generally ascended into the Abruzzi, and in winter they went down again into the Tavoliere, whereby (as in Spain) much injury was done to husbandmen and proprietors. Frequent but unsuccessful attempts were made to remedy these evils; but upon the whole the old system was retained, according to which the use of the ground was always farmed for one year (or in more recent times for six years) for depasturing cattle, and every species of tillage was forbidden. Petitions to permit the latter have been invariably rejected ever since the time of Charles V., upon different pretexts, for instance, because then the capital would run short of butchers' meat, and the just proportion between cattle-breeding and tillage be destroyed. Such continued to be the compulsory application of a tract of land in Europe, as though it had been one of the steppes of Asia; and the transition from the pastoral life to agriculture, or the combination

of the two modes of life, was regarded as a retrograde step and a folly.

At all this the French could not fail to take great offence, and so early as the 21st of May, 1806, a law was issued which completely changed the state of the Tavoliere. Instead of the farming for a time, a fixed rent was to be substituted, and the same was to be paid at certain periods, calculated at four per cent. on the capital. Every one was allowed to apply the land to pasturage or tillage, just as he pleased. The last-mentioned circumstance and the transition from insecure possession for a time to fixed property were a praiseworthy emancipation and an essential improvement. But even in this measure compulsory clauses sufficiently betrayed interested motives. Yet these appeared in a much worse shape, in a shape that totally destroyed all the good recently effected, when the rent to be paid was increased in various ways to such a degree that a carro, which till then had in fact paid but 24 dollars, was required to pay 66, including the new ground-rent. Whoever did not within 20 days declare his willingness to accept all these conditions was to forfeit his right and be put out of possession. Necessity, fear, habits, new and exaggerated hopes, silenced almost all opposition.

Till the restoration of King Ferdinand, however, partition, cultivation, and improvement, had not made the expected advances; and for this state of

things numberless reasons were assigned and numberless remedies proposed, only not the right reason and the right remedy.

On the 13th of January, 1817, appeared a new law relative to the Tavoliere, which abolished all that was sensible and beneficial in the former one, and retained, or even aggravated, all that was absurd and detrimental. The permission to acquire full property and credit by a redemption of the rent was repealed; the permission to cultivate the land as the occupant pleased was repealed: on the other hand, the unreasonably high rent was not only retained but even raised. In order to keep up the due and natural proportion between pasture and arable land in the kingdom, no one was ever to till more than a fifth part of his land, upon the penalty of paying a tenfold rent. Whoever had done this (under the sanction of the former law) was declared an illegal possessor, &c.

A minute analysis of the law would prove how justly Matteo de Augustinis says of it, that it is a shapeless mass of prescripts which betray ignorance of all true theories of administration and political economy.

The distress and the complaints in the Tavoliere kept continually increasing, so that the government at length applied to various persons for their opinions. The numerous printed works on this subject prove the sincerity of the writers, and, in this particular

case, the liberality of the censors; but their intrinsic value differs exceedingly. While some of those publications display correct scientific views and great practical knowledge, others have not yet advanced to the rudiments of the theory, and descant on what are proposed as practical plans, though manifestly impracticable, nay even absurd. Thus some are of opinion that the owners of the land should first drain it, plant trees, purify the air, build houses, stables, and cattle-sheds, to pattern, and then apply for permission to till the ground. This permission, they say, can only be granted when the mathematical and necessary proportion between pasture and arable land is not likely to be deranged, and it is found that the future improvement will not produce deterioration in other places. And this stupid interference is recommended by people who talk at the same time of extension of liberty!

Let every one do what he pleases with his land, let him redeem his rent or not as he thinks proper: general calculations of the supply of butchers' meat required by Naples, and the quantity which the Tavoliere should be bound to furnish, are silly and ridiculous. That improved agriculture increases the number of cattle seems to have escaped the penetration of those Solomons; and still less do they seem to have considered that every occupant of land arranges the due proportion of both branches better than a central board in the capital.

So long ago as 1832, the proportions had been scientifically so well discussed and practically so completely demonstrated that an essential modification and improvement might and ought to have been made in the mischievous law. Nothing, however, was done, and the Tavoliere is still in the same wretched condition as ever. A bank established in 1834, for the purpose of lending money to landowners there at the rate of 6 to 7 per cent. has neither relieved them nor done any good for itself; and this certainly tends to illustrate the main point, the *noli me tangere* — namely: —

1. That unless occupants are permitted to apply the land to what purpose they please, and to redeem the rent, no real improvement can take place; and

2. That, before these amendments, no landowner in the Tavoliere can obtain money upon mortgage or loan, so long as

3. The unjustly imposed and exorbitant rent is continued. Unless a reasonable reduction, suited to circumstances, take place, the occupant will always find a want of advances and capital, and the creditor of security.

Notwithstanding the just censure which must be pronounced on this and on many other things, even rigid critics admit that, since 1806, agriculture, the rearing of cattle, manufactures, trade, roads, &c., are essentially improved—a consequence of the natural quality of the land, of native industry, of

peace, and of the legislation.„ The latter, however, has sometimes fallen into great errors, and sometimes even nursed and cherished these with particular fondness. But it is true that the plans and views of those who are out of the sphere of administration, and supply it with good advice, are by no means always consistent. The same man, for instance, who complains that the breed of sheep is no longer improved by the importation of merinos, hopes to improve that of horses by a prohibition to import those animals, and thanks the government for having issued such a prohibition.*

In like manner very many (and particularly the government in fixing the rates of duties) entertain the erroneous opinion, that high protecting duties and monopolies alone can give prosperity to native manufactures. Of the great experiments proving the very reverse, which have of late been made in Prussia and in Germany, people here either do not know, or will not know, any thing. The cloth, cotton, and iron manufactures, (conducted mostly by foreigners,) have recently made advances, partly it is true by artificial means and at the cost of the purchasers, of whom, perversely enough, the Neapolitan legislators invariably think much less than of the sellers.

* So high a duty is irrationally imposed on the importation of foreign machinery, that a plough or a spinning-wheel is not to be procured without great expence and annoyance.

It is well known how deficient the Neapolitan dominions were till lately in good practicable roads —a consequence in part of supineness and inactivity. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten what great difficulties there frequently are here to contend with—intersected ground, few plains, no long ridges of hills or valleys, but all up and down, clumps of hills, deep ravines, mountain torrents, &c. At length science has gradually learned to conquer these obstacles: formerly many errors prevailed, and much money was thrown away. Thus some of the older roads are too steep and carried right across mountains, on which account heavy loads cannot be transported upon them. Prejudice and self-interest, moreover, produced their obstructions: thus, for instance, most were desirous that a road should run very near to their lands, but yet not touch them. Lastly, too much regard was paid to the line of the old roads, and the situation of old inns. There are three sorts of roads: 1, Such as are constructed and maintained at the king's expence, for instance, those to Rome, Apulia, the Abbruzzi, Calabria; 2, provincial, constructed at the expence of the provinces; 3, communal roads. Frequently, when the province has constructed a road, government has undertaken to maintain it. This maintenance is usually farmed out upon certain conditions, but it is not usual to levy any toll.

Before 1806, almost all the commerce was carried

on in Genoese and French vessels. It was rarely that Neapolitan ships ventured beyond a coasting voyage, so far as Dalmatia, and never out of the Mediterranean. Now they sail to the Baltic, nay, even to America and the East Indies. In place of the numberless inconvenient petty tolls on navigation and commerce, a simpler and more sensible system of taxation was adopted. Respecting the tonnage of the Neapolitan shipping in former and later times, statements differ widely: to a certainty it has much increased. During the year 1838, the number of vessels that sailed from Naples was 1215; of these 976 were Neapolitan, 81 French, 34 Tuscan, and 92 English.

The commercial treaties formerly concluded on erroneous and now antiquated principles, need revision and modification; for instance the clause granting to England, Spain, and France, a remission of 10 per cent. on all commercial duties; which indeed would be the very reverse of a preference to natives, if the Neapolitan government had not endeavoured to favour them still more in another way.

In the recent negociations respecting the modification of the system hitherto prevailing, and the conclusion of a commercial treaty with England, all the old prejudices have again been broached, and all the old errors defended, though long since refuted by solid science and comprehensive experience. So much the greater merit has that illustrious states-

man, who has the patience and courage to cleanse this Augean stable, and to lead his fellow countrymen into a new and more prosperous track. He has victoriously demonstrated—1. That the former treaties with France, England, and Spain, as well as the advantages and premiums granted to natives, were injudicious and detrimental, and that the advances of commerce were not owing to them, but in spite of them; 2, that those treaties are unfair to other powers, whose flags are scared away (to the injury of the producers,) and call for reprisals (to the injury of the merchants); 3, that it is unjust and at the same time silly, to strive to make a profit in commerce solely by injury done to others and by monopoly; 4, that now-a-days the outdoing others in duties, chicanery, and taking advantage, cannot be the foundation of commercial treaties, but frankness, regard to mutual interests, and real reciprocity.

If the prince of Cassaro succeeds in carrying out these views, to the benefit of his country, that great monster (which has other fathers), namely, the Sicilian sulphur monopoly, must die a deserved death. That preponderance, too, will decrease which (owing to more rational principles and greater activity) the Sardinian states now exercise over the Neapolitan.

LETTER CVIII.

Naples—Finances—Taxes; on Land; on Trades; on Consumption — Revenues and Debts of the State — Revenue and Expenditure of the city of Naples.

Naples, July 16th.

HAVING treated of a great many other subjects, I must at length notice the taxes and the financial system. One might say—*Per tot ambages tendimus in Latium*—but that the financial system is not a very agreeable Latium. Its mazes, its blunders, its diseases, afford no pleasure to the professional man, still less to the amateur, who dislikes nothing so much as *ennui*. Penetrated with this conviction, I will throw the greatest part of my extracts overboard, and get over the ground that is not to be avoided as rapidly as possible.

It would be very wrong to assume that, till the year 1806, a wise system of taxation and finance prevailed in the Neapolitan states, and that revolutionary perverseness has since established itself. On the contrary, the old system of taxation had the greatest defects; but of anticipations, debts, arbitrary proceedings of various kinds, a superabundance. With the accession of the French domination some things became wors than before, others, on the contrary, much better; almost all, without exception, were re-modelled But I must, *nolens volens*, enter more into detail. The new sources

of income were, land-tax, tax on trades, personal tax, customs and excise, stamp and register tax, monopolies, (salt, tobacco, playing cards, gunpowder, saltpetre,) post, lottery.

So early as the 8th of August, 1806, a great number of petty taxes on land were abolished, and the levy of a general land-tax was ordered. Those pre-existing taxes were certainly of very different origin, had little connexion, were unequal in proportion and inconvenient to levy; but, upon the whole, they were moderate, and the payers were accustomed to them. Charles III. had, so far back as his time, directed the preparation of a general tax-book, but the opposition of the privileged orders prevented the execution of the plan. Now, not only was no regard paid to such opposition, but it was evidently a main object to saddle the estates formerly belonging to the church and the nobles with the new tax, and thereby to increase the revenue. It was easy to say—The clear produce shall be calculated, (mostly according to the then high ten years' average,) and a fifth part of it paid as land-tax. In three winter months, amount, quality, quantity, were not be calculated, and so errors, deceptions, injustices, crept in in such number and to such an extent, that the amendments made at different periods, though they diminished the defects, yet could not wholly extirpate them. Nay, to put an end to a still greater evil, the constant uncer-

tainty of property, it was at length decreed that no further alteration in the land-tax should take place before the year 1860. It produces annually the sum of 6,150,000 Neapolitan ducats (dollars). The following additions to it are levied :—

10 grani for the debt of the state,
7 ... for fixed provincial expenses,
2 ... for variable provincial expenses,
2 ... for communal expenses,
½ ... for the gendarmerie.

At any rate a very considerable portion of the Neapolitan taxes falls upon landed property.

The new tax on trades was (with the abolition of other taxes of that kind) modelled after the French, subsequently much altered, and in 1815 totally repealed. The stamp and registration duties have on the other hand been retained, after undergoing many alterations.

The productiveness and the defects of the government monopolies I need not again discuss. A plan for substituting a mill-tax instead of the revenue from tobacco has not been carried into effect. The monopoly of playing cards is also continued; games of hazard, on the contrary, are prohibited upon pain of being fined from 50 to 500 ducats. The salt-tax has not always been equally high. An attempt was made in 1807 to force the purchase of a certain quantity miscarried. The regulations are still burdensome, the punishments severe, and the prohibi-

tion of the private and easy preparation of sea-salt oppressive.

To the inhabitants of Naples snow, or water cooled with snow, is nearly as necessary as salt. The supply of the capital is farmed to certain persons, and it is prescribed what stock shall always be kept (at 4 grani the rotolo) in the 60 to 65 principal shops. Considerable penalties are imposed for every hour in which it is not to be had.

It were to be wished that the government had manifested the same laudable concern about the lotto as about the sale of snow. Ever since 1628 this evil has existed in various shapes, but since 1800 it has exceedingly increased, though out of the total receipts (about two millions of ducats) not half is given back, but levied as the most pernicious of taxes from the misled multitude and retained. The capital has addicted itself most to this passion. Naples pays 12 twentieths of the sum raised by it; the district of Naples and Terra di Lavoro, 4; Principato citra, 1; and all the other provinces, 3.

As in all other countries, so in Naples there is a whole series of customs' laws, with many, partly voluntary, partly compulsory, modifications. Before 1809, the mercantile system, as it is called, preponderated; but the customs' tarif exhibited neither science nor unity. The law of the 24th of February, 1809, had the same defects, and merely united a great number of small, frequently local, duties into

one tax. Hence arose, in many cases, singular and unfair rates; thus a dozen oil-skin hats were charged 1 ducat 31 grani, the hundred weight of raw cow-hides, 1 ducat 13 grani, &c. A second law, of the 10th of May, 1810, paved the way to the abolition of all internal tolls and all duties on coast-navigation. The third law, of the 6th of November, 1810, was a consequence of the fatal continental system. Laws of the 20th of January, 1815, and the 20th of April, 1818, abolished this tyranny, but substituted no rational system in its stead. Since that time government has sought to accomplish a double end by the customs' tarifs of 1823 and 1824—complete freedom of trade in the interior and on the coasts, as well as protection of the public revenue and manufactures, and maritime commerce against foreigners. The export of all produce and manufactures is therefore in general free or very lightly taxed; but the import duty is still in part immoderately high. Thus, for instance, paper pays from 30 to 40 per cent. of the value, musical instruments 30 per cent., cloth 18 per cent., &c. The duty on furs amounts to 35, and on handkerchiefs to 67. The duties are levied either by quantity or weight. Pains are taking to simplify these things, and to profit by the light that science and experience have of late thrown upon the system of the customs, and especially upon the high monopolizing protecting duties. Hence the duty on the exportation of oil

is likely to undergo an alteration. It produced in 1821—1823, at 42 grani the stajo, 1,304,000 ducats; 1830—1832, on smaller quantities, 1,939,000.

In Sicily this duty is considerably lower. The profit upon smuggling is still so high that the dread of severe punishment is not sufficient to deter from it.

The customs are farmed for a certain sum, and the surplus receipts, after deducting a certain percentage, are divided between the government and the farmer. The farmer exercises over the king's receiving officers a superintendence and control, which are considered safer than those of boards appointed for the purpose. Such distrust, such an anomaly, must furnish sufficient proof of the worthlessness of these custom-house officers, of which every traveller daily finds abundant opportunity to convince himself.

The tolls on consumption in the towns (exclusively of Naples) are computed at the following round sums:

On Butchers' meat	193,000	ducats.
Fish	39,000	...
Snow	15,000	...
Wine	351,000	...
Oil	5,000	...
Flour	664,000	...
Cheese, salted meat, &c.	20,000	...
Other transient monopolies and voluntary payments	199,000	...
Total	1,490,000	...

The mill-tax imposed in 1826 was reduced one half in 1831, but was still attended with so many difficulties (on account of the hand-mills, the poor, and supervision) that the required or expected amount was chiefly raised in a different way, and not by the mill-tax.

The government levies all the taxes on consumption in Naples, and pays the city annually a fixed sum of 260,000 ducats.

For the amount of the total revenue of the state I find abundance of figures, but nobody to vouch for their accuracy, as the truth is either purposely concealed, or alterations in the financial system make such changes as cannot be gathered from the principal sums. Upon the whole, the revenue and the expenditure have kept progressively increasing, and the latter has but too often exceeded the former.

The revenues are said to have amounted in

1790	to	16,708,000	ducats.
1810	„	14,488,000	...
1812	„	16,464,000	...
1820	„	20,354,000	...
1823	„	24,061,000	...
1829	„	26,777,000	...
1832	„	27,442,000	..

This increase was by no means the result of increasing prosperity alone, but mostly the consequence of augmented taxes and burdens. No sooner had the government got into a better track than the

revolution of 1820 very much diminished the receipts and greatly increased the expenditure; so that loan upon loan followed, bad speculations and swindling transactions on 'Change gained ground, and yet the large yearly deficit was not covered.

It is impossible to express one's self on this subject with more sincerity and concern than the law of the 11th of January, 1831. The preamble to it says, "We were desirous to make ourselves acquainted with the Neapolitan financial system in all its nakedness. Lamentable as it is, we will make no secret of it. This legislative sincerity is worthy of us and of the high-minded people whom Providence has called us to govern. The law of the 28th of May, 1826, left room to hope for the restoration of the equilibrium of expenses and receipts; but this hope has been disappointed. In consequence of the events of 1820, there arose a deficit, which has been yearly increasing by means of the interest. Under the mysterious name adopted in the modern financial theories of a floating debt, there existed an evil which still continued to be a debt, and so much the more burdensome as the resources for a permanent diminution were wanting, and the payment of the sums falling due could not always be deferred. This debt amounts to 4,345,000 ducats, and the deficit is still more than a million ducats."

In regard to the debt of the state, two other unpleasant circumstances are to be taken into account.

In the first place, two-thirds of the debt are due to foreigners, and the interest must of course be sent abroad; in the second, no diminution of the interest is possible, because in the country the rate of interest is so much higher that every one would be glad to accept the proffered capital.

So much, however, is certain, that, during the reign of the present frugal monarch, a great deal has been done for improving the finances of the state. This cannot well be shown here in detail. I shall, therefore, content myself with quoting the estimates for the years

	1834. Ducats.	1838-9. Ducats.
Total revenue .	26,150,000	26,670,000
Council of Ministers (expenditure.)	40,000	44,000
Foreign Affairs . .	259,000	251,000
Ministry of Justice .	628,000	727,000
Ministry of Religion .	40,000	40,000
Finances, royal household, and debt of the state . .	14,490,000	14,236,000
Interior . . .	1,846,000	
War	7,200,000	
Navy	1,330,000	1,721,000
Police . . .	205,000	200,000

Accustomed as we are to see in modern Europe states exhausted and ruined by immoderate war-

expenses even in time of peace, still we are struck to find that in Naples these run away with upwards of 8½ millions of dollars,* while a paltry sum indeed is allotted to the ministry of religion. The conjecture that this is abundantly provided for in some other way finds no confirmation, when we turn to what has been said concerning the school system, and to what I have still to remark upon the poor. The state debt and the royal establishment take away a great deal (the latter about 2 millions); so that, what with the deductions occasioned by the improvident wastefulness of the past, and the sums expended out of fear for the future, not one-fourth of the present revenue of the state is actually applied to the purposes of the present. Is it matter of surprise that the living generation should often be dissatisfied with such a state of things, though it has no clear notion either of the causes or of the remedy for it?

The revenues and expenses of the city of Naples amount annually to about 407,000 ducats.

For many successive years the city (like the state of Naples) has expended more than it has received—a consequence partly of inevitable necessity and compulsion, partly also of want of strict regularity and a wise economy. Murat undertook the debts of the city, but at the same time appropriated to

* The communes and individuals are burdened with many other war-expenses besides.

himself plots of land and taxes to a far greater amount. The more recent debts have been incurred chiefly for expensive undertakings, buildings, and the like.

If we compare the relation of several Italian cities to the taxes on consumption levied on them, we find it to vary much. Trieste, for instance, receives the whole of those taxes and gives only a certain sum out of them to the government; whereas, the latter, in Turin and Naples, takes the whole to itself, and allows only a fixed sum to the cities. Both forms are liable to the weighty objection that, in case of the increased prosperity or decline of the cities, fixed sums are unsuitable and appear too large or too small, either for the government or for the city. If, on the other hand, a portion, a quota of the total receipts were to be paid to the state or to the city, the sums for both parties would rise or fall according to existing circumstances.

I have already mentioned that great improvements are making in the cities and provinces by the government and the communes. The proposal of such plans rests with the provincial councils, and three of the members of that council usually superintend the execution. As, however, on such occasions misunderstandings, quarrels, misapplication of the money, generally take place, the government mostly appoints competent persons as

assistants, and commits the chief supervision to the intendant.

LETTER CIX.

Naples—Relief of the Poor—Mendicity—Foundling Hospitals.

Naples, July 25th.

THERE are many customs, usages, institutions, laws, of a people, which at a distance appear foolish, but which on a close view one learns to comprehend and to think natural: there are others, on the contrary, which appear wrong whether near or afar off, and may be designated as prejudices and defects. Sometimes writers, setting themselves in opposition to the people or the government, or both, have attacked errors of this kind, and at last come off more or less victorious; sometimes they are infected with the same prejudices, and seek to clothe these in the specious garb of wisdom, or to find pretexts of all sorts for their justification. A subject treated in this way, sometimes skilfully, at others unskilfully, is the provision for the poor.

I will not repeat what I have said in my letters from England, on the general point of view from which pauperism may be considered, but shall connect my remarks on the state of things here with a Neapolitan work that is just published. In this

work, entitled, Egotism and Love, M. Rotondo justly insists that the state cannot and ought not to have the whole unconditional management of the poor; and that many details must be left to an immediate operation (along with the public officers) to a Christian charitable assistance of distressed brethren. But I know of no state and of no writer that has ever practically prevented this, or theoretically denied it. The dispute began only about the measure of official operation, and the nature of personal relief; so that no reason exists for designating beforehand one or the other notion as selfish, and attaching to it a *levis notæ macula.*

It is not my duty to defend the work of Count Petitti, on the poor, which M. Rotondo, with well-meant zeal, most vehemently attacks. In my opinion it will not be difficult for the Count to show what misconceptions prevail in it. I shall, therefore, content myself with noticing some other points. Rotondo compares the English and the Italian systems for the relief of the poor, finds that they differ in every point, and gives the unqualified preference to the latter. Here the question first forces itself upon us: Why has Rotondo compared the Italian institutions with those only which are almost universally acknowledged to be extremely defective? In this manner we arrive not at any glorification of the Italian mode of proceeding, but, at most, at the conviction that the old English method is worse

than the present Italian; a very mean praise indeed!

To this must be added, that Rotondo is very imperfectly acquainted with the earlier English institutions, and levels at them reproaches which they do not deserve. He says, for instance, that the English government destroyed all the charitable institutions, and took the entire management of the poor into its own hands. Just the reverse. England is as rich in charitable institutions as Italy, and both countries deserve, on this score, equal praise or equal censure. Moreover, the English government has concerned itself too little rather than too much about the poor; hence arose such gross misconstructions of the laws, such great differences in different parts of the country, and (from the false application of Christian charity) so many injustices and absurdities. But let us set aside the former English defects, and ask, why Rotondo says nothing about the new English poor-law and its effects, about the Scotch and German institutions, about the distress in Ireland, &c.? Had he noticed these, then indeed the dark side of the Italian mode of proceeding and the inadequacy of the means of relief afforded by it must have been clearly apparent.

With this point another position of Rotondo's is essentially connected. He says, namely, that the end of all exertion, all industry, all human activity,

is leisure, the doing nothing—as though activity did not carry with it essentially its end and its reward, but the supreme good for man consisted in the cessation of activity, in a mere negation. Most assuredly after labour rest is sweet, and to him who is enfeebled by age the retrospect of his past life is a great consolation and a noble enjoyment. But if I set up leisure idolatrously as the first and the last, then he whom circumstances have allowed from childhood to indulge in idleness is much happier and wiser than the man who has eaten his bread in the sweat of his brow. The scholar, the artist, the statesman, must find the highest object and enjoyment in activity, and in the works of his life, otherwise he will not in the end enjoy *otium cum dignitate.*

A correct explanation of the theory of labour and rest, and their mutual re-action, is by no means impossible: but when even men of cultivated minds frequently fall into misconceptions upon this subject, we can scarcely be surprised if inferior understandings translate and construe them into the ordinary and vulgar notion that begging is better than working. And this notion, so degrading to man, is no where more generally diffused than in Italy, partly through the fault of governments and writers, inasmuch as they throw pauperism and beggary into one pot, and conceive that they are necessary companions. Whole nations of Europe,

thank God, prove the contrary, without any prejudice to christian charity.

Another Neapolitan writer may here be brought forward as a witness. Matteo de Augustinis says:* "A distinction must be made between pauperism and beggary (mendicità). The latter takes place publicly and in the streets, or privately and through mediation. Numberless persons beg without necessity, out of idleness, and that they may lead a more convenient life. You are every day accosted by people dwelling in the country and in towns, who are strong, hearty, capable of work, or even actually labouring people. Nay, to such a length is this practice carried, that many persons of both sexes, who are going about their business, do not scruple to solicit alms as soon as they set eyes on any individual who has a benevolent look. Others again, especially in large towns, make a particular trade of begging; and when you refuse to give them something, they pass from the most moving solicitations to abuse and insult, nay, sometimes to curses and vituperation."

In the very same way Morichini shows, in his excellent work on the charitable institutions of Rome, that their superabundance increases the number of the poor. Still more lamentable, he adds, are the consequences of mendicity for morality. It

* *Della condizione economica del regno di Napoli*, p. 116.

encourages idleness and supports those vices which are always its invisible attendants.

This systematic legalized mendicancy I consider as one of the greatest and most dangerous diseases of Italy at the present day; and so much the greater and more dangerous, because so many governments, and so many Italians who are not beggars, regard it as a sign of noble beneficence and genuine christianity. If we examine the thing more closely, even that faint halo which people have striven to throw around it wholly disappears.

Nothing tends more to undermine, to destroy, the worth, the dignity, the self-respect of man than the habit of begging. Crime itself (committed in a moment of necessity or of passion) does not bring with it such moral dissolution, is not so incurable a cancer for the better part of man. It is, therefore, the greatest barbarity to send out one who is really destitute into the streets to beg, instead of providing for him with more christian charity in a worthy manner; it is a culpable negligence to suffer those who are not in need of relief to be seduced to their own ruin to beg. Both are done in Italy that (so say some) the christian may always have opportunity to earn the merit of charity. Thus then, agreeably to the proverb: *Fiat experimentum in corpore*, or *in anima, vili*, the pauper is to be employed and sacrificed as an excitement to the virtue of the rich! If this be the highest aim, then are all charitable institutions good for nothing,

and their inmates, without exception, ought to be turned out into the streets for the encouragement of charity. But if a selection is to be made, by what right and upon what principles are the ejected to be decimated?

Is it christian affection to leave it to chance whether the street beggar gets nothing, little, much, or too much? Are there not quarrels about the most lucrative places? Are not the most productive, (for instance, at the doors of some of the churches) considered as branches of business, and even taken, as it were, upon lease?

Beggary, in the form in which it is met with in most of the towns of Italy, does not increase christian affection, but leads, through its excess, to hardness of heart; otherwise it would not be possible that persons afflicted with the most grievous diseases could be left to wallow in their misery on the same spot for years together. And just as false as that this beggary encourages charity is the assertion, that mendicity and distress were ever done away with by means of alms given to street-beggars.

A people that piques itself so much on its sense of beauty ought not to be wholly regardless of the æsthetic side of the matter, and by no means to put forward every where that which is disgusting. Just in front of the king's palace here a fellow stations himself, who exhibited a large tumour, the sight of which made me spring aside in disgust. Of christian charity (I will not deny it) I felt in these moments

not a single spark, but far more inclination to lay my cane about the shoulders of the impudent scoundrel.

In another part of his book, Rotondo says, that in London 20,000 infants are annually exposed. I know not who can have told him so wholly false and incredible a story, and hope that my statements relative to Italian foundlings may not contain similar errors. From Florence I have received the following supplementary information: At the end of 1838, the foundling hospital there (for about ⅔ of Tuscany) supported 7600 children, 3400 of whom, according to one computation, were illegitimate, the others born in wedlock. The number of the children annually exposed amounts to about 1200. The mortality, formerly as high as 80 per cent., has decreased since the pay for nursing has been raised, that is to say, since the expenses have been greatly augmented. In Naples there were exposed in the year

1824	1977	of whom died	1471
1827	1891	„	1457
1828	1893	„	1503
1838	2022	„	1440

Christian love is as mistakenly applied in the case of foundling hospitals as in that of street-beggary. Instead of repeating my oft-expressed sentiments on this subject, I shall merely quote the defence set up by a lady. "But for the foundling hospital," said she, "a girl who has had a child could not conceal

the loss of her chastity, and so could not get a husband." This idea, that governments ought, by public institutions, to provide a concealment for unchastity, that an innocent bridegroom may be the more easily duped, was to me new and unexpected. Setting aside that, in this manner, bad means are employed for an assumed good end, and that lying is almost made the foundation of matrimony, the principal object is not attained, because there, where such lying and such concealment are impracticable, the mother far more frequently, and in virtue of right and nature, marries the father of her child, and then it has incomparably better attendance than in those great privileged institutions for wholesale murder, called foundling hospitals.

LETTER CX.

Sicily—Constitution—Administration.

Naples, August 1st.

No person of understanding and natural unsophisticated feeling can listen without deep sympathy to the complaints of the Irish, when descanting on what their beloved country might be and what it is. The grief of the Sicilians and their friends must be still greater, if possible: for on the tragic back-ground to the picture of the present we see, at

the same time, what Sicily once was, how highly cultivated the country, how extensive the intellectual development, how active the industry. And though men, in their supine indifference, would pass these over in silence, the very stones would proclaim them in giant characters: *Te saxa loquuntur.*

Whence this deplorable falling off? Once the granary of Rome, now frequently suffering want itself; deserts, instead of cultivated fields; naked, parched tracts, instead of luxuriant groves; and prostrate columns and temples, as the only objects of attention, inquiry, and admiration: while the present exhibits nothing but dark shadows brooding over the whole, to render the picture still more gloomy and awful by the contrast.

Whence this deplorable falling off, since Sicily has not, like Asia Minor, been ruled for a series of ages, and crushed to the ground by savage hordes; since the Mohamedan crescent has but transiently touched this christian country; since intellectual cultivation was roused from a short slumber so early as the 12th and 13th century, and among its rulers there were some capable, like Frederick II., to direct generations into new tracks; since the constitution never lost its significance, (as in Naples) and the sea afforded protection from so many annoyances and dangers to which the continent was exposed?

The riddle becomes still more difficult of solu-

tion when we fix our eyes upon the last fifty years, and compare the fortunes of Sicily with those of Naples. The latter suffered from revolutions, wars, military contributions, stagnation of trade, sacrifices for foreign objects, &c. Sicily, on the other hand, was protected from these evils, benefited by the presence of the court, of which it had been so long deprived, gained large sums by a free trade, and the presence of the English raised the prices of its productions, the value of its land, &c.

Notwithstanding its sufferings, Naples has been an essential gainer in various respects, by the modification of many unseasonable laws; a more free and rapid circulation of money, the sale of the crown-lands and the possessions of the convents, &c.; while, in Sicily, after the conclusion of peace, many things were left on a much worse footing than in Naples.

Some deny the existence of any evils in Sicily, and call all complaints unfounded, because some individual improvements have taken place (for instance, in roads and harbours) and the population has here and there increased. Others deny all advances, because not only are these counterbalanced on deducting the retrograde steps, but a general deterioration is manifest. Without entering into these fractional calculations of plus and minus, it is sufficient in this introduction to my communications to declare this truth: that the state of Sicily

and the relations of the country to Naples are extremely defective, because the feeling, the conviction, of this defectiveness is as lively as it is general in Sicily; and because the two principal divisions of the kingdom manifest a mutual aversion, hatred, contempt, which, without speedy and efficacious remedy and amendment, must dissolve and destroy even the healthiest state.

Whose fault is this? Each portion of the kingdom throws the blame on the other, the Neapolitans on the Sicilians, the Sicilians on the Neapolitans, the government on the people, the people on the king and his ministers. The philosopher may know *a priori*, the historian may conclude beforehand from numberless facts, that all are to blame, but in what greater or less degree is to be ascertained only from an examination of details.

There are two questions which I shall not answer in this place, but merely propose, because they can be repeated at each individual subject, and serve for a sort of guide or touchstone. Has Sicily gained or lost more from having lain beyond the reach of the great political movements of the latest times, and escaped the sufferings, the efforts, the training, the purgatory, to which almost all other nations have been exposed? Has Naples derived from all these circumstances the advantage of a real regeneration of rulers and of people; or are the former still proceeding at random as they did

before, and is the latter just what it was in the groundwork of character and disposition?

As many a medical school reduces all diseases and all remedies to a few principal forms, so the present time refers the diseases and the remedies of the social system chiefly to the forms of the constitution. Let us, then, first turn to this. Ever since the middle ages there has subsisted in Sicily a constitution essentially founded on the three well-known estates, nobility, clergy, and towns. This natural, commendable, primitive form, soon sickened of the usual diseases.

In the first place, namely, the kings mostly saw in it only a bar to their arbitrary authority, or to their enlightened good-will; and they found means to reduce the activity and the influence of the states almost to nothing. But where,

Secondly, this influence still manifested itself, it was generally but partial and pernicious, owing to the vast preponderance of the first two estates, and the inadequate, defective representation of the third estate. By far the greatest part of the landed property was in the hands of the nobility and clergy, and, moreover, almost entirely withdrawn from the operation of any beneficial movement by ecclesiastical laws, feoffments of trust, majorats, entails, &c. The first-born were the principal heirs, and, nevertheless, very frequently exhausted their property by senseless profusion and recklessly running in debt.

They rarely resided in the country, and still more rarely took upon themselves the management of their estates. Even the younger sons of the nobility scarcely ever embraced a really productive profession, but became, with few exceptions, advocates, soldiers, or monks.

About the end of the 18th century, then, the constitution was wholly inactive, or in a pernicious activity, and the views of the government coincided in no respect with those of the nobility and the clergy. The former wished to introduce the new military, financial, and administrative system; the latter to keep up all privileges, the ancient feudal and ecclesiastical system, the immoveability of landed property, the strict dependence of the people, &c. Opinions might differ as to the advantages of the one or the other system; but certainly it was impossible to let both subsist together in their full extent, or to combine them with one another.

After the removal of the court to Sicily, these intentions manifested themselves more and more decidedly, and it was regarded by the aristocracy as its greatest and most dangerous enemy. As the English, then in Sicily, were also frequently dissatisfied with the court, the grandees solicited their aid against the king and the government: they imagined that a constitution modelled after that of England must give them, in opposition to the king, a far greater power, the power of the upper

house. The English favoured this idea, partly from preference of their own constitution, partly because they hoped in this way to conciliate not only the nobility, but all the inhabitants of Sicily. The latter, in fact, rejoiced at the prospect of emerging from their previous nullity; they hoped (small as the beginning was) to open for themselves a more influential career; and all, in short, were satisfied that a complete political separation from Naples should once more be pronounced.

Thus, with the co-operation of Lord William Bentinck, was framed the constitution of 1812, with an elective lower house, and an upper house composed of barons and bishops.

In the same proportion, however, as all the other estates hoped to gain, the king and the queen conceived that they themselves should lose. The former, in displeasure, resigned the government to his son on the 16th of January, 1812, and the queen fell out so seriously with the English, that she quitted Sicily, and proceeded, by way of Constantinople, to Vienna. This evident dissatisfaction, this complete retirement of the king and queen, was extremely injurious to the infant, unconsolidated constitution. Misunderstandings and intrigues daily sprang up; among the apparently harmonious discord arose, and the great difficulty of habituating themselves to an entirely new system of social relations was not less felt by the Sicilians than by

other nations. The nobility conceived that, in the third estate, or in the second chamber, a far more formidable enemy than the king was growing up against them; and, while some of the leaders of the upper house loudly recommended judicious compliance, others saw in the unconditional rejection of every proposal the only means of salvation. Many liberals were not less discordant, hot-headed, and inexperienced: and thus an arena for passions of every kind was opened to pamphleteers and newspaper-writers.

Scarcely a single resolution of the lower house (for instance on feoffments of trust, taxes on feudal property, agriculture, corn trade, the government of towns, &c.) received the confirmation of the upper house. As then the general improvements and advantages which had been so ardently expected were not realized, the people became indifferent to the new constitution, and many in superior stations lost their confidence in it; while but very few recommended perseverance, moderation, and patience, and argued that it was wrong to hope to reap in a few weeks that harvest which would require years to grow and to ripen.

This state of things in Sicily, as well as that in other countries of Europe, enable us to comprehend how the king, after his restoration in December, 1816, could abolish both the old and the new Sicilian constitution without resistance, nay,

even without much contradiction. But we must not forget that at the same time important promises were given, that in Sicily none but Sicilians should receive appointments, and that the highest offices should be divided between them and the Neapolitans in proportion to the population. At court and in the army only, no strict separation was to take place. The feudal system should continue to be abolished, and new taxes should not be imposed without the consent of the parliament. The viceroy of Sicily should be a member of the royal family, or a distinguished personage.

Though these promises seemed to favour Sicily in various respects, yet many scruples arose in the very first moment. Does the appointment of the higher officers according to the population ($\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$), afford the Sicilians a sufficient guarantee that their national wishes and aims will ever be accomplished? What is the meaning of "The feudal system is abolished?" Where, after the abrogation of the old and the new constitution, is a parliament to be found? How will it be formed? Will one be called? Why is it not said that the distinguished personage who is to be appointed viceroy of Sicily must always be a Sicilian? &c.

It is certain that, for some years, nothing whatever was done for the formation of a constitution; and by this equalization with Naples the Sicilians deemed their rights invaded, and felt their national

pride hurt. But this was not all: the system of administration, instead of diminishing this discontent, only created new subjects of dissatisfaction, and manifested opposite wishes and tendencies. The Neapolitan government, namely, retained in the kingdom of Naples many institutions given by the French, in an arbitrary manner, it is true, but yet for the promotion of greater civil liberty and equality; and these institutions it purposed to introduce in Sicily. This excited great discontent in the first and second estates, which were anxious to preserve all the old feudal prerogatives; and much as the tenor of the laws might please the friends of innovation, still they sided in many points with the opponents of the government. An outcry was raised that the latter, (notwithstanding its loudly declared enmity to every thing French,) participated in, nay, outdid, the Gallic rage for centralization, and meant, as it were by right of conquest, to place Sicily in every respect on the same footing as Naples. Why not leave untouched the institutions which had subsisted for ages in Sicily, as nothing was more dreaded there than a subordination to Naples? Wherefore this equalization, this interference of the authorities in everything whatever, this restrictive superintendence over the communes, this imposition of new burdens before the removal of the old, at a time when the country was suffer-

ing from the derangement of trade, and the prices of all produce were falling?

Such were the views and dispositions at the moment when the revolution of the year 1820 broke out in Naples. It showed that, in Sicily, under grievances of the same kind, very different opinions prevailed as to the means by which they were to be remedied and how they were to be prevented for the future. On one grand point only all were agreed—that Sicily had full right to a constitution, and that government ought not by an arbitrary resolution to deprive country and people of this inestimable good. Very few thought of a restoration of the old constitution; while to most such an ultra-conservative predilection for what was acknowledged to be faulty appeared extremely irrational. Some members of the first estates felt that it was necessary to concede something, at least, to the wants and wishes of the time, and would now have been willing to accept the constitution of 1812, which they had before detested; but many were no longer satisfied with this, though the liberals by no means coincided in their plans. A party, namely, (predominant in Palermo,) insisted on the perfect independence of Sicily, and rejected the Spanish constitution not solely on account of its defects, but because it was forced upon them by Naples, and changed the ancient, independent, separate kingdom into a mere province, of the same cut and

fashion as all other provinces. A second party, (predominant in Messina) demanded, on the contrary, the adoption of the Spanish constitution, partly out of opposition to Palermo, partly because they would rather enter into connection with Naples than remain dependent on the Sicilian barons.

After the victory of the Austrians at Rieti, and the return of the king to Naples, all these plans fell to the ground, and not a syllable has since been said about a separate state and a constitution. For the introduction of the Neapolitan municipal and district regulations was regarded by the Sicilians as an abridgment or an annihilation of greater rights; and there is nothing but a law of the 19th of December, 1838, by which the feudal system is again abolished, that belongs in part to that political sphere. What had been several times prescribed, but hitherto mostly evaded, was at length to be carried into execution on a large scale. In the preamble to that law it is said: "Agriculture cannot flourish without such an unconditional property in land that any third person may be forbidden to set foot upon it. Land acquires value only where there are many wealthy cultivators, whom attachment to the property binds to the soil. The extensive, bare, desert, uncultivated tracts, which are to be found in Sicily, (notwithstanding its natural fertility and the favourable climate,) cannot be improved so long as there are several masters of the same soil."

Agreeably to this view, new ordinances follow, which favour more speedy and suitable divisions of common properties. The very extensive possessions of those churches of which the king is patron were to be treated according to the general directions and let. Though this law cannot yet have come into full operation in the space of a few months, and has on one side to encounter great difficulties, still it prepares the way for essential improvements, and will gain the merited approbation which is always awarded to similar measures, though opposed at the outset.

After the constitution of Sicily had been abolished, the inhabitants retained only a separate administration, independent of the Neapolitan authorities, over which they watched with redoubled vigilance, insomuch that every trifling alteration which has been made for years appeared to them an indication of greater danger. This apprehension was not unnatural, and it has been fulfilled. For the sake of brevity, I pass over the former regulations and communicate only the principal clauses of the law of 1837, by which the Sicilian administration is completely blended with the Neapolitan. It is therein said: The separation up to this time of the administration has not been productive of the expected benefits, whereas it is to be presumed that an opposite system will operate most advantageously for jurisprudence, finances, public opinion,

the rallying of all around the throne, &c. In future, therefore, the king will fill all temporal and spiritual offices in all parts of his dominions at pleasure with Neapolitans or Sicilians; and, upon the whole, give as many appointments to the former in Sicily as to the latter in Naples. Moreover, there shall not be separate ministers or ministries either in Sicily or in Naples, for either country; on the contrary, all business shall be transacted by the ministers of state appointed for the whole kingdom, and commands shall be sent by them to Sicily, and reports addressed to them from Sicily. It will be sufficient to assign to the viceroy in Palermo certain subordinate assistants for the different branches of the administration."

Whether such an administration of the whole kingdom from a single centre is to be preferred to several more localized administrations, is not to be decided generally and *a priori*. Every system, namely, has in general its light and its dark side, and the preponderance of arguments will turn this way or that, according to country, manners, sentiments, wishes, &c.

It is certain that the majority of the Sicilians regard the new regulation as a new loss, dread the partiality and the ignorance of the remote authorities, call the pretended simplification of business a double scribbling in which a deal of time is wasted, and deem the boasted removal of Sicilians to Naples,

held forth as a bait, no gain but an essential loss. The officers, it is said, will hereby be transformed into slaves, and compelled to part from country, property, relatives, friends, whenever a minister takes it into his head to send them arbitrarily now to one place and then to another.

In those countries where not merely the removeability, but the arbitrary removeability of all officers is defended, these notions of the Sicilians will be called antiquated, or even silly or absurd. But have they not their natural, noble, human side, and is it not rather a mere superstition of the present day that the more one undermines and extirpates the natural, the noble, and the human; the more one converts the public officer into a will-less wheel of the complicated machine — the more perfect is the supreme direction of the government and on the better footing are the social relations of humanity? Truly wise and just governments do not grasp at such abstractions; but know how to reconcile the general welfare, in this point also, with the wishes and comfort of individuals.

LETTER CXI.

Sicily — Population — Exemption from forced Levies of Soldiers — Gendarmerie — Police.

Naples, August 2nd.

On looking over my last letter, I find in it more shade than light; and besides we shall yet have to

travel through other dark countries. I should like, therefore, to seek up and to introduce some lighter points.

The population has certainly increased of late years, perhaps more than in Naples; it now amounts to about two millions. Such an increase, however, as I have already observed is not always a proof of increasing prosperity; and many will shake their heads when they learn that in this population are numbered 127 princes, 78 dukes, 130 marquesses, innumerable counts, 28,000 monks, and 18,000 nuns.* Proportionately great (partly through accessions of country-people) is the population of the towns. Smith, in his Travels in 1824, gives the following, perhaps not quite authentic, amounts:—Taormina 3500, Bronte 9000, Alicata 11,000, Castrogiovanni 11,000, Monreale 12,000, Syracuse 13,000, Piazza 13,000, Acireale 14,000, Girgenti 15,000, Caltanisetta 16,000, Caltagirone 20,000, Marsala 21,000, Modica 21,000, Trapani 25,000, Messina 61,000, Catanea 74,000, Palermo 180,000 — and these amounts had since increased, till the cholera came and thinned them. To this increase have certainly contributed the abolition of restrictive monopolies and guilds, the diminution of the influence of the high nobility, the rise of the inferior nobility and of the third estate, the suppression of oligarchical communal administrations, &c. Ter-

* Karaczay, Manuel du Voyageur.

mini, for instance, which formerly had no income from its communal property, in 1821 received annually 80 ounces;* Marsala, instead of 30, receives 300; Mazara, instead of 31, now has 318, &c. This was partly a consequence of pasture-jurisdictions, partly of other measures, by which interested lettings were rendered difficult or impracticable.

It is considered by many as an important privilege that Sicily is not subject to any compulsory levy of soldiers; and yet the want of all military training ought rather to be regarded as an essential loss. This privilege certainly led to the enlisting of dissolute persons and to the sending over of many Neapolitans, especially military officers, to Sicily. The Neapolitans insist too that towards the yearly supply of 8000 men Sicily ought by right to furnish 2000; that this unjust privilege of course increases the Neapolitan burdens, inasmuch as 2000 more men are obliged to serve as soldiers, or to pay a high price for substitutes. To these complaints the Sicilians reply that such a calculation is unfair, because it treats rights of the highest antiquity as though they had never existed. In the course of time, rejoin the Neapolitans, unjust privileges of this kind, which tend to weaken, nay even to ruin, the state, must be abolished, and a uniform social life commenced.

This is the proper place for passing to another

* An ounce is about 10s. English money.—T.

point of contention — the gendarmerie and police. In the year 1833 a law was issued relative to the formation of a body of watchmen for the internal safety of Sicily. In proportion to the population, from 30 to 200 were to be elected in every town from among the civil officers, proprietors, capitalists, shopkeepers, and others of reputable character. They serve gratuitously, and at their head is a captain appointed by the intendant. The election takes place through a committee consisting of the judge of the place, the burgomaster, the clergyman, and two decurions chosen by the intendant. Every ten days at furthest, from 3 to 12 persons take upon them the night-watch, and render assistance wherever it seems necessary for the preservation of the public peace.

On occasion of a new organization of the gendarmerie in Naples, these regulations were modified in certain points by subsequent laws of 1837 and 1838; the armed companies, as they were called, were dissolved in Sicily, and the whole protective police was placed in the hands of the gendarmerie.

Those companies were established nearly one hundred years ago, for the safety of persons and property in the country, and improved in 1812. At the head of each was a captain, who chose his men at pleasure, and who was bound to make compensation for all robberies and thefts committed in the day-time on the high roads within his district. The

companies were paid out of the public coffers. So far back as 1816 the gendarmerie began to perform the same kind of duty along with them, but they have only just been abolished. The whole institution, said its adversaries, originated in a time when the government was weak, no central point existed, and too much was left to the communes. The new institution has more general objects, and is not intended merely to prevent the commission of robbery and theft in broad day. It is destined to keep every one, both by day and by night, within the bounds of legitimate order, which the Sicilians have of late but too frequently overstepped.

The Sicilians, on the contrary, complain in this manner. The old institutions attained the end; the new must fail to do so. For the guarantee of compensation for loss sustained through robbery, theft, and the like, is at an end. Those hitherto engaged in this duty were acquainted with the people, their characters, connexions, retreats, concealers, &c.—the Neapolitans sent hither know nothing about these matters, and wear themselves out to no purpose, while robbery and plunder are gaining the upper-hand. There was not the least cause for these alterations, unless it were the intention to annihilate whatever is Sicilian, and to cut out every thing after the same pattern. To increase the evil, the principal board of police for the whole island, which sat at Palermo, has been dissolved, and every

intendant and subintendant has received orders to place himself in immediate communication with the ministers. Hence not a creature knows anything of matters beyond his own district, and a glorious era is commencing for rogues and robbers.

These evils are the less likely to be remedied by the administration of the laws, since the Sicilians themselves acknowledge its defects, the superabundance of lawyers, and the inordinate fondness of their countrymen for litigation.

LETTER CXII.

Sicily—Decline of its Prosperity—Trade—Commerce.

Palermo, August 8th.

When one speaks of the decline of a country, one is accustomed to compare the present with the nearest, or at least no very remote, period of the past, and to investigate the cause of the more recent evils, as well as to pronounce at whose door the blame of them must lie. But the decline of Sicily commences with the wars against Carthage; it dates before the time of Verres. Since then there has been a continual rising and sinking; though the country never again attained its first splendour, and therefore chooses rather to view itself in reflection, and to seek food for the great national pride in the past, rather than outdo that past, or at least to

equal it by the efforts of the present. That this has not been done, and is not done, is the fault (so say most Sicilians) of the vicious governments, and not of individuals, or of the people. For my part, however, I have always great scruples to set up such an unqualified antithesis, such an abrupt separation, and thereby to deny the reciprocal action and re-action, as well as the participation in honour and dishonour. Many things may be amended without the interference of governments, and even a bad, a partial government must be pleased with such changes. The construction of roads, the foundation of schools, the improvement of the condition of the country-people, exemplary attention of the great to agriculture, introduction of finer breeds of cattle, more careful manuring, abolition of many evils of the feudal system, transition from short to longer leases, division of common lands, the avoiding of debts and of all needless lawsuits—these and many other things of the kind, which one misses in Sicily, where the country favoured by Nature has not kept pace by any means with less favoured lands, have not been prevented by the government, cannot be prevented by any government. If then a little more serious self-knowledge were associated with the complaints of the Sicilians about their government, and activity were to rise to the acquisition of new laurels for themselves, the country and the people would be

essentially bettered, and they might then oppose the vicious laws with double right and double energy.

As my opinion, influenced by no partialities, as, I may say, my conscience, has impelled me to pass this judgment which may possibly offend many, so I will now endeavour to show by two important matters that the complaints of the government about the obstinacy and the refractory spirit of the Sicilians likewise go a great deal too far, nay that the latter are perfectly right in regard to essentials, though individuals may have suffered themselves to be hurried into errors and perversities. I allude to the free navigation (*libero cabotaggio*), as it is called, and the trade in sulphur.

The undeniable truth that the combination of agriculture, trade, and commerce has proved most advantageous to many nations, could not pass unobserved in Sicily, and the wish to move also in this track was natural and commendable. It was not long, however, before its governments fell into oft-refuted and ever-recurring errors; it wished suddenly to create manufactures, for which capital, preliminary practice, and many other requisites were wanting; as all these efforts failed, it strove by excessively protecting duties to cut itself off not only from foreign countries but likewise from Naples; it forgot, in extravagant zeal for a few favoured individuals, the prodigious burdens of those who were to enrich the proprietors of factitious manufactories.

Many Neapolitans took up the same ground, and wished in like manner to be protected against the importation of Sicilian produce, for instance, wine and corn.

Faulty as are the principles which the Neapolitan government always applies towards foreign countries in regard to the system of duties, still it was perfectly right when it resolved to break down all barriers between Naples and Sicily, and to establish a free trade. Those Sicilians, on the contrary, were wrong who advocated the cause of a shackled trade, and beheld in seclusion from all the rest of the world the foundation of infinite prosperity; they were wrong, instead of urging the full application of the principles of free trade, and the removal of individual defects, to desire for their little island a continental system which must ultimately have cut off village from village.

Just as erroneously did many Neapolitans refer to the English corn-laws, in order to justify the prohibition of Sicilian wheat, as did the Sicilians to justify a prohibition of Neapolitan manufactures. Those English laws serve rather to prove what great pains it requires to bring back an artificial to the natural state. Or, to take an example that lies nearer at hand: — the increased duty laid on Genoese paper has only produced a monopolistic rise of the Neapolitan prices. The Genoese immediately made cheaper paper boxes, got into their

hands the trade in southern fruits to Trieste, and, owing to excessive protection, most of the Sicilian houses were ruined.

Where then lies the fault, where the true ground of complaint against the free trade established since 1824 between Naples and Sicily? It lies in this, that, notwithstanding all the high commendations of liberty and equality, no such thing exists; but that a great many restrictions, mostly to the prejudice of Sicily, are still in force. It is to this point that attention should be directed, and the Sicilians must insist on the thorough execution of the new system, not (out of impatient despair) on a return to old perversities, or even an aggravation of them.

Sicily then is injured, for example, inasmuch as the Neapolitan government monopolies (tobacco, salt, gunpowder) prevent the export from Sicily to the continent; while there is no such bar to the introduction of any Neapolitan produce into Sicily. Sicilian wine, moreover, pays a considerable import duty in Naples, but not the Neapolitan when it is brought to the island. In justification of this proceeding, it is alleged that the Sicilian wine is better than the Neapolitan and must therefore be more heavily taxed. The Sicilians reply that their produce is less, though the expenses of production are greater. By calculations of this kind one never arrives at a simple, rational system of taxation; on the contrary, every different sort of wine (from the

Somma, Ischia, Capri, Calàbria, &c.) must, in this case, have its own particular rate of duty, and the number of custom-house lines, blockades, or surcharges, be increased *ad infinitum*. More stress might be laid on the circumstance that the state monopolies subsist only in Naples not in Sicily, whence the latter country has the advantage in another respect. On the other hand, it is a mistake to assert that the wine-duty in Naples is merely a city impost, as the state reserves by far the greater part for itself.

As a further proof how far trade still is from being free, I give you the following passage in a letter from a person conversant with the subject: "All foreign goods sent from Naples to Sicily pay the whole duty a second time on their arrival, no matter whether they have the leaden mark of the king of Naples or not. Shipments from Sicily to Naples are in the same predicament.

"The whole island pays ten per cent. less than Palermo, the capital: but goods which have there paid the 10 per cent. and are exported again, have no claim to drawback.

"Articles not subject to the leading (jewelry, for instance) pay every time on transmission from Messina to Palermo the whole duty over again."

LETTER CXIII.

Sicily — Sulphur Trade and Sulphur Monopoly.

Malta, August 20th.

You recollect, no doubt, from your early days, that it was formerly customary to give schoolboys Latin passages in which all sorts of blunders were purposely made in grammar and syntax, that they might correct them and thence learn how Latin ought *not* to be written. The same course seems to have been pursued in Naples in the regulation of the Sicilian sulphur trade; it may be clearly shown from the more recent laws and contracts, how, consistently with true wisdom and experience, things of this nature ought not to be managed and treated. The contract between the government and the house of Taix and Aycard is pre-eminently a *monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*, such as is scarcely to be matched in the modern financial history of Europe. Charges of this kind are severe; but it will not be difficult to prove them.

Some years ago, when the price of sulphur, the most important of the exports of Sicily, declined, owing to various natural causes, all the sellers complained, as usual, and many represented that the government ought to do something for the purpose of raising the price and the profit upon it, as though any government can regulate the buying and selling

price of goods at pleasure. Interested persons took advantage of this error, and a M. Taix presented a grand plan for affording relief to the sellers; the nature of it shall presently be explained. Though Sicilian commissioners rejected this plan for very good reasons, M. Aycard, nothing daunted, submitted a second and finally a third, in which he said that it was foolish to allow the owners of sulphur mines to exhaust them by working them immoderately; that the state ought to interfere to cramp self-interest, and to dispel the empty dream of free trade. It ought to secure and maintain against foreigners the monopoly of the sulphur trade, which nature has given to the island. It would be advantageous for Sicily to produce but little sulphur, and for that little to obtain a high price. A private commercial company could alone lead to this desirable end, and Messrs. Taix, Aycard and Co., were willing, out of sheer generosity, to take upon them so dangerous a business, and to construct roads, dispense alms, compensate proprietors, and found a mineralogical cabinet at Palermo, into the bargain.

Phrases and baits of this kind gained many unenlightened persons; means of a different sort were employed in other places; an examination of the matter in full council of state was avoided, and the management of the affair was committed chiefly to *one* minister.

Loud complaints were raised a the same time in Sicily against the mill-tax," which had recently been very much increased, and certain persons solicited its reduction, not from a sense of justice, or because the revenue from it might be dispensed with, but because it would then be no longer possible to avoid the *salto mortale* for founding a sulphur company.

Accordingly, on the 27th of June, 1838, was issued a royal ordinance signed by St. Angelo, the minister, the preamble to which says: For the benefit of our beloved subjects, in order to pay debts in Sicily, to alleviate burdens, to diffuse great wealth, and to call forth public works, which the island has such need of, a contract is concluded (without listening to plans of rights and privileges) with Taix, Aycard and Co. for ten years, to the following purport: —

1. As the great production of sulphur is the cause of every calamity in Sicily, the same shall be reduced from 900,000 quintals to 600,000 per annum, consequently diminished one third.

2. The average produce from 1834 to 1837 shall determine the quantity of the two thirds, beyond which no sulphur shall henceforth be allowed to be raised.

3. The price at which the company buys and at which it sells shall be officially fixed.

4. It pays to the king 400,000 Neapolitan ducats per annum.

5. The proprietors have full and unlimited liberty to sell their sulphur to whomsoever they please, and to send it whither they will, in case they do not choose to dispose of it to the company.

Thus favourably to liberty runs this clause in the ordinance of the 27th of June, 1838, but in the contract concluded by St. Angelo on the 8th of August with Taix, after the word "company" is inserted a single line — "provided that the owners pay to the company 20 carlines per quintal."

Such is the substance of a contract which (I repeat it) can scarcely be matched in the history of finance. Though it needs no explanation, I cannot forbear adding a few remarks.

1. It is true enough that the quantity of a production may exceed the consumption and the demand. The prices then fall, and this transient or permanent sign serves to warn every intelligent producer and maker to curtail the supply here and there, more or less, or perhaps not at all, in the prospect of a favourable change of things. In the infinite variety of relations of persons and things, it is only the individual who can form just conclusions on this subject; and it is a palpable folly to pretend to prescribe the course to be pursued by numbers at one and the same time. Every regulation of this kind rests on mere caprice, and always shows something too much or too little.

2. It is one of the grossest errors to attempt to

increase the wealth of a people in commanding by law the diminution of productions and industry. The old fabulous story that the Dutch threw their spices into the sea, in order to keep up their price, is reduced to practice in our so-called enlightened age, and upon a larger scale. To be consistent, the government must, for the prosperity of Sicily, limit also the production of wine, oil, wheat, &c., and all for the purpose of amassing wealth, paying debts, and so forth. What conjuror, what oracle, can have inspired and revealed the normal standard of two thirds and one third? If an English minister were to propose similar measures in regard to the working of the coal mines, it would be thought high time to send him to Bedlam.

3. One blunder leads to another. The average produce of three years is to decide the future extent of the trade, without regard to good or bad times, scanty or abundant capitals, without permission to advance. As soon as the two-thirds, to pound and ounce, are above ground, the business must stand still; nay, one-third of all the workmen is, for the increase of wealth, suddenly thrown out of bread, and almost forced by want to take up the trade of robbing and stealing. The government itself has undertaken the task of founding an inexhaustible nursery of wretchedness and crime, and the paltry profit is almost entirely swallowed up by the regiments of soldiers that must be sent to Sicily

for the preservation of order. The more we enter into detail the more conspicuous becomes the folly. Thus an American house expended in the years 1834 to 1837 very large sums on opening sulphur mines, but they have hitherto produced nothing. And, according to the wise law, there is no better prospect for the future. Of arbitrary proceedings, concealment, fraud, impossibility of superintendence, and redoubled distress of small proprietors, only too many instances are enumerated.

4. How tyrannical and absurd it is to fix buying and selling prices for years to come, every one knows who has learned the a b c of national economy; and the company which imagined that it had calculated so cleverly for itself may find at last that it has miscalculated.

5. But if it should even make no profit whatever, the 400,000 ducats which are taken from the proprietors of sulphur mines, (in order to increase their wealth,) would be a most oppressive and most unjust tax. But one can scarcely tell whether the most galling and intolerable part of the business may not be this, that the man who drew up the above law speaks with incredible hardihood of hatred to rights and privileges, and eulogizes perfect freedom of trade, while he confers, in the 20 carlines per quintal, a monopoly upon the company, and renders a free sale absolutely impossible for every proprietor.

At the same time the company knows how to evade purchasing at the fixed prices, attempts are every where making to find sulphur out of Sicily, and a discovery made at Manchester already furnishes a substitute for many purposes. In spite of all repentance and all changes, stupid rulers will in a short time have so effectually destroyed the chief trade of Sicily, that this already so wretched and discontented country will be past recovery. Averse as I am to join in the too frequent complaints against authorities, in this case boundless ignorance is displayed; or there might have been at the bottom more reprehensible motives, on which people in Naples and Sicily speak so loudly and so personally that I dare not venture to repeat what they say.

But the Sicilians themselves are not blameless. For though one may be disposed not to be too severe upon many, because they were ignorant of the genuine principles of political economy, yet speedy experience and the outcry of the country ought to have enlightened them. Instead of this, however, not a few, belonging even to the first families, presented to the king when in Sicily an address of thanks for establishing the sulphur company. Whether then it were ignorance, error, cowardice, flattery, interest, or all these put together that led to this step, so much is certain that these silly panegyrists have no right whatever to com-

plain, or the assailed rulers may scornfully hold up to them their own hand-writing like a Medusa's head. If, meanwhile, country and people sink lower and lower, who cares for that? Or those who do care have no legal means of redress at their command, and their sense of right will not permit them to employ illegal ones.

LETTER CXIV.

Sicily—Corn Trade—Land-tax—Revenues and Expenditure of Palermo and Messina—Foundling Hospitals.

Messina, August 23d.

WHAT I have related to you in my last letter about the sulphur monopoly far surpasses (a retrograde step of course) all the singularities and follies that were formerly practised for the ruin of the corn-trade, but gradually abolished. In the middle of the month of August, namely, the authorities formerly met, and decided what should be the price of corn in the current year, how much the government laid under embargo for the country, and how much the local magistracy for the place, how much was to be carried to the great magazines (*caricatoji*) at Catanea, Girgenti, Sciacca, Termini, and Alicata, &c. Arbitrary acts, fraud, bribery, annoyances of every kind, were necessarily connected with these regulations, and were ruinous to agriculture. And

Sicily is still behindhand in all those improvements which other countries have derived from better theories and greater experience; and persons conversant with the subject complain of the like very great imperfections which prevail in the preparation of sulphur, while their recommendations tending to increase the produce are disregarded. The aspect of the naked hills of Sicily proves that the complaints of the destruction of wood are well founded.

After the decline of the price of corn, the complaints of the amount and unequal assessment of the later taxes on land grew so loud that it became necessary to rectify the register, and to take the average produce from 1820 to 1830 as the standard. No rise or alteration of the *cadastre* is to take place in regard to agriculture before 1880, and in regard to olive-trees and woods till 1900. On the question whether the land-tax is proportionably higher in Naples or in Sicily, the opinions of the inhabitants of the two countries differ exceedingly, as they do on a thousand other subjects. The same may be said of the question, whether the revenues of the state in Sicily are higher in proportion than the income and property, or the number of the inhabitants. Loud and general is the complaint that the government promotes the extension of the ruinous lotto into the smallest villages, and that it has seduced even the poorest to indulge delusive hopes.

For Palermo, Messina, Catanea, and Calatagirone,

the mill-tax was retained at its full height, and for the rest of the country diminished. Instead of a kind of personal tax which was levied in most places, a tax has been again laid upon mills, even for the level country. Many regard this, and justly, as a very inconvenient retrograde step.

For the construction of roads, which are more rare in Sicily than in any civilized country in the world, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the land-tax is now allowed to be applied; and permission has been granted to raise a loan of a million of dollars at $5\frac{3}{8}$ per cent. for the purpose.

By way of supplement to my former statements relative to the population, I subjoin the following particulars which I have just received. There were in

	1798.	1831.	1836.	
Palermo	140,000	173,000	175,000	inhabitants.
Messina	46,000	58,000*		
Catanea	45,000	52,000	56,000	
Girgenti	14,000	17,000		
Sicily	1,660,000	1,943,000	in 1833, 1,927,000.	

It was computed that there was one monk to 254 persons.

That the administration in the towns of Sicily needs superintendence is proved by older and later experience, and also by the discussions of plans (*stato discusso*) for the city of Palermo in 1838.

* Others say 83,000.

They form a thick folio, which contains, besides the plans themselves, the remarks of the city-tax committee, of the intendant, of the ministers, and, lastly, the royal decision. For many years past the expenditure of the city has exceeded its income, and its finances are not yet in due order. The income of 186,000 ounces arises chiefly from landed property, land-tax, and taxes on consumption; thus, for instance, 50,000 ounces from flour, 18,000 from cattle for slaughter, 5,000 from fish, 32,000 from wine, &c. Among the expenses there are not only the ordinary, (salaries, pensions, buildings, interest 6000 ounces, lighting 10,000,) but also some of a peculiar kind. Thus, for instance, notwithstanding rich endowments, there are 8,000 ounces more for churches, convents, and festivals of all sorts, of which that of St. Rosalia alone costs 4000 ounces. Still more striking are two items, namely, 4000 ounces for the cure of diseased prostitutes, and 10,000 for foundlings, while the public schools are put off with 1000. Whether it is true that, in Palermo and other cities of Sicily, the money destined for this or that purpose finds its way into other channels, I cannot decide; but I may venture to assert that strict financial economy (deeply in debt and highly taxed as the city is) might diminish many expenses, or at least establish very different relative proportions between them.

The revenues and expenditure of the city of

Messina amount annually to 40,000 ounces, about five-sixths of which arise from taxes on consumption, upwards of 3000 from the sale of snow, and the rest from rent of property, fees of court, &c. Taxes on consumption are levied upon oil, tobacco, fish, wine, must, vinegar, brandy, &c. Wine pays 4 tari per salma; oil 1 tari the cafisso, (156 pounds Vienna weight,) butchers' meat 8 grani the rotolo, four for the king and four for the city, which are levied by two distinct authorities.

The corn-tax too is of a double kind. In the first place, the salma of corn pays on entering Messina, for the city 16 tari 3½ grani. The levy of this tax is let for the yearly payment of a specific sum to private persons (*campisti*). Secondly, on the salma of wheat, maize, and barley, 13 tari 12 grani are levied at the mill for the king. The salma, therefore, pays altogether 30 tari 8½ grani.* Forty-two rural communes belonging to Messina are subject to the same heavy taxes.

The salaries paid by the city amount to between 5000 and 6000 ounces. A principal item of charge arises from the debts, most of which pay 5 per cent. interest. Money to pay them off is wanting. The sum of 30 ounces is put down annually for the library; on the other hand, 1000 for the festival of

* A salma contains 18 tomoli, or about 5⅓ Vienna metzen. A cantaro, or 100 rotoli, is equal to 141¾ pounds Vienna weight. A tari is about 5d. English.

the Virgin Mary on the 15th of August, and 1600 or 1700 for foundlings. The number of these in the city of Messina alone is from 30 to 50 monthly; for even wealthy men are not ashamed to send their illegitimate offspring to be nursed, or rather killed, in the convenient foundling hospital.

In a general statement for Palermo for 1836, exclusively of the children found alive, there are the following three items:

Found dead in the turning wheel	21
——— half dead, who soon afterwards died...	45
Perished from miscarriage and abortion	36

Such are the occurrences of institutions encouraging murder, sin, and wretchedness of all kinds, and yet patronized and extolled by state, city, and church!

LETTER CXV.

Roman Archives—Relations between Church and State—Religious Squabbles.

Florence, Sept. 2nd.

It has been reported at Rome that I was charged with a secret mission to prosecute the intrigue commenced by M. B—— at the papal court; and that, owing to so hostile an intention, the archives were naturally closed against me. This fiction is rather too silly. Nobody ever thought of giving me any

political commission whatever; and I have never said or done the least thing that could in the remotest manner have encouraged such an idea. In Rome they cry out: Thou heretic!—in Berlin: Thou secret Catholic! What wonder if I were to lose the tramontane, and no longer to know where my head stands. Accept, therefore, with indulgence what (with my weak head) I shall write today, as I am forced into this track. You are acquainted with my sentiments relative to the dispute between Prussia and Rome; I will, therefore, set aside all particulars and stick to generals.

If I turn to history, I discover tyranny in times when state and church were in harmony, and when they were at variance. I find tyranny on the Catholic side and on the Protestant side. Neither party then should set out with claiming for itself exclusively right, liberty, and wisdom. In the chalifat, which united the temporal and spiritual authority completely in one hand, I can no more discover a model for christian institutions than when state or church grasp beyond their natural sphere. Their limit is not absolutely fixed for all times and all nations; it has been moveable, and will continue to be so. But one party alone cannot fix the limits, nor arbitrarily remove them when fixed.

The pretensions of the hierarchy are certainly unbounded, and checked only by prudence and the force of circumstances. Hence not only incessant

attention, but often serious resistance, appears necessary in order not to be vanquished by the well-appointed army that is ever ready for battle. But is it not natural, after the failure or wilful destruction of so many political forms, to seek succour for once in ecclesiastical forms? And how can one ever combat the ancient, consistent, artful absolutism of the pope with success, if one at the same time caresses and protects the arbitrary and the superficial absolutism of temporal sovereigns? If, then, one would raise things from a quarrel that leads to nothing to a higher point, and aim at greater objects, the undertaking must be of one piece, and not in one part diametrically contrary to another. Every absolutist, bureaucratic, intolerant Protestant is inconsistent.

On the other hand, they are egregiously mistaken in Rome, when they conclude that every one who does not approve the conduct of the Prussian court in all its parts is of course a Catholic, or an advocate of the intolerant principles of certain zealots. It is a great pity, said a Roman to me, that the Catholic church must necessarily be intolerant. A gross, an atrocious error, if it was intended to express something more than firmness of conviction and kindly training—to assert the right and the duty to persecute, nay, to burn, persons holding different opinions.

Unconditional absolutism, however, is by no

means the all-embracing form of the Catholic church. Centuries back it had framed with admirable skill what is now called a constitution. Every theocracy, however, has gone to ruin as soon as it ceased to stand at the head of a progressive development of the human race; every opposition has fallen to pieces when it was no longer held together by one common interest and object. From this point of view many conjectures and conclusions might be drawn relative to the permanence and progress of Catholicism and Protestantism.

The final aim of Catholicism is, according to many, to exterminate Protestantism, and of Protestantism to exterminate Catholicism. Might they not just as well say that the aim of inspiration is to exterminate expiration, and *vice versa?* Are not life and development dependent on this double movement, and if either were about to cease altogether, should one not be obliged to restore it purified and invigorated, as "his Majesty's opposition?"

It is not by the external way of violence that any thing can be effected in the long run against Catholicism or Protestantism; the means, the ends, must be spiritual, must be christian, in the highest sense of the word. But are not many hard-hearted tyrants of the 16th and 17th century transformed in our days into heroes? Is it not denied that Jesuits or Puritans did wrong, because the tempest

of wrongful suffering burst also over them? It is a lamentable truth, confirmed afresh by experience, that religious fanaticism is covered by as light and thin a veil as political fanaticism, and the strength of the patient afflicted with fever is deemed greater and nobler than that of one in health. Wo be to the zealots, whether Protestant or Catholic, who will not strive to promote the development of mind by kindliness and moderation, but to renew and carry on the war with those means which ravaged Germany for thirty years together, and gave it up an easy prey to rapacious foreigners!*

Italy has no German or Protestant predilections, and is nevertheless more Ghibelline than in the 12th and 13th century. Nay, many Italians assert that Guelfism has dissolved and ruined country and people. But do not many nations, in other respects extremely jealous of their independence, good-naturedly suffer themselves to be guided by *Italian* popes and cardinals, as though Italian birth were inseparable from the idea of Catholic church-government?

May the great, the vivifying truths of Christianity, the truths in which all professions agree, continue to be the essence of genuine tolerance and conciliation! Let zealots of various kinds do what they will, the development ordained by God will

* The same was the case in France, England, the Netherlands, &c.

not carry back the human race either to the 13th or to the 16th century; but, according to the expression of others, after the Petrine and Pauline character of christianity has had its day, the Johannean will step into the foreground.

To what end, many may perhaps say, this useless arguing pro and con? In times of contention one ought (as Solon of old required) to choose one's party and strenuously help to carry on the war, not sit down listlessly or over-prudently between two stools. But is, then, the choice always between two parties only? Is there but a right and a left, nothing opposite or ahead? Needs there not, even during war, something to point to higher peace? That love should get the better of hate, this is the pole-star, which ought not to be lost sight of in all contests, and whoever points to it is not so useless as those imagine who, engaged in the fray, have no inclination or leisure to look upward.

LETTER CXVI.

Journey from Naples to Florence.

Florence, September 3d.

Of my run to Malta, and my stay there, I have already given you an account. Since I left Naples I have been travelling with not less rapidity, but

without any extraordinary exertion, and will inform you as briefly as possible how and which way.

On Friday the 30th of August, probably just at the time when you were reading letters from me in Berlin, I got into the coach in Naples, saw Gaeta by moonlight, at daybreak the wretched yet beautiful Itri and Fondi, next Terracina, with its reddish yellow rocks, and the Pontine marshes. Their aspect is more verdant and cheerful than that of many a bepraised tract, and, but for the unwholesome air, they might be compared with our grazing districts. From Velletri to Albano beautiful well cultivated hills, and then the classic Campagna di Roma. I will hold my heretical tongue, lest I should be caught and led about by the æsthetic cord till I cry *Pater peccavi*, and deny my creed from cowardice or weariness. Arrived in Rome between five and six in the evening of the 31st, and left it again about twelve. I made some preparations for getting into a mood of melancholy admiration and fondness, but the fit would not come—the spirit was willing, but the flesh weak. Such circumstances drive one, in order to justify one's self, into opposition. And so I inwardly expressed my displeasure with the imperial era of Rome, which here glorifies itself almost exclusively with columns, triumphal arches, colossal buildings, baths, &c.; laid the papal government of the 16th century by way of shade over the works of Raphael

and Michael Angelo, and almost sunk the sublime idea of the Catholic church in the recollection of the manœuvres of the spiritual parade. In these perverse thoughts I was interrupted, or rather punished for them; for the postillion plunged with both horses into the ditch, and if the three animals had not lain so quiet that we could get out and cut the traces, there would probably have been an end to our thinking in this world. The danger over, I fell into my old train. Instead of looking about at Viterbo, and examining localities in reference to the siege of Frederick II., I merely remarked the wretched state of all doors, locks, and windows, hardened my heart against the swarms of beggars, was but little pleased with the elevated Montefiascone, as I passed beneath it, found Radicofani fertile in comparison with the fields of Etna, slept and saw nothing of Siena, but was fresh and lively again on the morning of the 2nd in the vicinity of Florence.

LETTER CXVII.

Journey from Florence to Verona—Austrian Government—Prohibition of Begging—School Examination—Passport Annoyance.

Verona, September 5th.

My first, or rather my most important, visit in Florence on the 3rd of September was to the Tri-

bune and the other works of art. What I have seen in Rome and Naples has not diminished my admiration of the Venus and the Niobe. Even Titian's Venus, as it is called in the Tribune, is only the picture of a naked, more vain than beautiful woman; the body too large, the knees clumsy —but *ne sutor*.

I dined with the extremely courteous G. S—. The word sentimental having dropped from me, I know not how, M— observed smiling that he had never given me credit for any thing of that kind. Indeed, if I am to shed tears because a piece of bread has been scorched in the toasting, or because a butterfly does not live for ever, I am nothing less than sentimental. My sentimentality lies rather in the direction of that of the prompter in Wilhelm Meister, and gladly leaves the other sort to other people.

The express-coach from Florence to Mantua has but two places; the post, however, thinks it right to sell a third place to persons who are in haste; hence I was exceedingly cramped and uncomfortable. At five in the evening I started; the road in general up hill. A violent thunder-storm passed on before us, illumined the dark summits of the Apennines, and laid the dust without wetting us through. On descending towards Bologna I admired the verdant and cultivated hills the more,

because the bare heights of many more southern provinces were still present to my view.

You need pass but once through the streets of Bologna to feel, nay to see, that this city has a totally different character from Rome, and that the two do not harmonize together. According to appearance, one would expect more cheerfulness in Modena; but the booksellers' shops were chiefly stocked with ascetic and religious works. The fertile, highly cultivated plain of Lombardy has not the presumption to set itself up for picturesque; it relinquishes to others all the charms of the past and is content with the rich present. As I crossed the placid Po, and first discerned the Alps, my thoughts easily flew forward to my home. In passing the Austrian frontier, I felt, too, as though I were now entering a country where there existed social relations and a government, and that the south was to me a *lusus* or *abortus naturæ*. Some, I know, will say that by expressions of this kind I only show the narrowness and heterodoxy of my notions. I am, nevertheless, fantastical enough to build myself an idol *altioris indaginis*, standing with one foot on the Tavoliere of Apulia, with the other beyond the strait on the sulphur-mines of Sicily, having on its breast a rich cabinet of coins, instead of the zodiac, holding in the left hand the ordinances relative to the Tavoliere and the centralization of Sicily, in the right the ever-memorable contract with M.

Taix concerning the sulphur monopoly. Before this colossus Prince Metternich and his colleagues, those Gothamites, as they are called, must fall down, and learn how to bestride and rule the narrow world.

In the evening of the 4th of September I reached Mantua, and set out at half-past four the next morning for Verona, intending to continue my journey without stopping across the Brenta. Why I chose this route I will explain to you verbally; but my haste to reach home was checked by the wiser dispensation of the post, or rather of Heaven, and I was forced to take an unquiet rest in Verona. I traversed the city in all directions, and was delighted for the fourth time with its bustle and its uncommonly beautiful environs. Descending from loftier hills, the Adige rushes on between richly-cultivated eminences, benefits and embellishes the city, and, after it has performed its work, becomes more placid in the plain.

Unluckily I have found in Verona another confirmation of the oft-repeated complaint that the Austrian government attends only to material interests, but neglects, or even undermines, those of a higher nature. In my walks for hours through the streets, great and small, I have not seen a single beggar; not a creature asked charity of me, though it was easy to perceive that I was a traveller. What does this prove, unless that the Austrian go-

vernment attends to such utterly trifling matters as the employment of the healthy and the relief of the necessitous, while it deprives its subjects of all that is most noble, namely, the opportunity of exercising the Christian virtues in the streets? The other governments of Italy, in the profundity of their wisdom, pursue a contrary course, and their subjects, equally sagacious and docile, profit by the lesson, and take care that from year's end to year's end there shall be no lack in the streets of sick, loathsome, and impudent beggars, in order that no Christian may ever want opportunity for the exercise of the Christian virtues!

I heard the sounds of lively military music issuing from a church, and found that the city gymnasium was holding a poetical sitting, at which twenty-eight compositions in all metres were recited in honour of Scaliger. What powers of production! some admirers may exclaim; what diversity in unity! What I heard reminded me of Lichtenberg's bombast. There was no end to the shouting and clapping of hands. A troop of little happy urchins in particular clapped till their hands were quite red, and the trumpets drowned their fortissimo. You missed just the best, you may say; and I will not contradict this mild interpretation.

To prove to what perfection certain government arrangements are brought in Italy, and how many people there are anxious to make the acquaintance

of a respectable man, I might give you a list of 31 signatures to my passport from Naples. Many of these signatures (such as the Prussian and Austrian) are gratuitous; others, especially the Neapolitan and Roman, are the more expensive. Thus the Neapolitan consul in Malta takes 1 dollar 15 groschen (nearly 5 shillings English) for subscribing his name. As you are obliged, moreover, every time to pay soldiers, people belonging to the police, lacquais de place, and the like, this passport system (in conjunction with the depredations of the custom-house officers and sinners) entails so heavy and vexatious an expense, that it often costs more than eating and drinking, and one had better get off wholesale than be so often plundered retail.

LETTER CXVIII.

Journey from Verona to Münich—Inspruck.

Münich, September 9th.

From Verona I travelled up the valley of the Adige and Eisach, over the Brenner, to Inspruck, and by way of Zirl and Partenkirch to this city—a journey (with the exception of the environs of Munich) exactly calculated to refresh and delight the heart. Hills of the most diverse kinds, sublime, beautiful, fantastic, here and there superb precipices and peaks, mostly covered with wood and ver-

dure to their summits. Luxuriant meadows, brilliant flowers, gushing springs, murmuring brooks, impetuous torrents, shady trees, houses and cattle, herdsmen and sportsmen. Ought I to draw comparisons? but who forces me to do so? I will, therefore, merely remark, in a significant manner, that no Tirolese need be afraid of a Sicilian. Neither need the garden of Inspruck shrink from comparison with the Flora of Palermo. It is impossible to contemplate Inspruck, so cheerfully spread out between sober hills, without delight, and the honest race of inhabitants indicates a German present and a German future. "The black Manderl" in the church bore witness for state and art, the Martin's Wall reminded me of the noble courage of a German emperor, and the German frontier custom-house at Mittenwalde relieved the traveller from search till he should reach home. I must do the officers there the justice to acknowledge that they did not search more or less than it was their duty to do. I gave them nothing, and they did not intimate in any way that they expected a gratuity.

LETTER CXIX.

Münich—Library—School of Painting—Religious Feuds—Threatened Dissolution of the German Confederation.

Münich, September 16th.

The very kind reception which I find here, and the vast treasures of art, detain me, in spite of my

longing to be at home. "When," I asked the porter "will the library be open?" "You mean the Glyptothek," he replied. Much may hence be inferred respecting the state of philology here, and the relation between art and science. If as much were done for the latter as for the former, it would not produce less excellent fruit.

If the Münich school of painting has appropriated to itself the epic and the tragic, and that of Düsseldorf has confined itself more to the elegy and the idyl, this is partly owing to the nature of the leading masters, and partly to the circumstance that for the development of fresco-painting on a large scale outward encouragements are indispensable, and these have hitherto been afforded almost solely by the King of Bavaria. In comparison with the richness and grandeur of these Münich fresco-paintings by Cornelius, Hess, Schnorr, and others, many pictures admired elsewhere appear almost like mere play, or like cleverly manufactured goods for the supply of a large demand. Many a painter may say to Teniers, to Denner, to Carlo Dolce: *Anch' io sono pittore!* Cornelius may address this exclamation to Michael Angelo, who will not repulse, but acknowledge and give him his hand. But more of all this when I see you.

Though art furnishes most subjects for reflection at Münich, yet many other points could not be left untouched, and, in proportion as the former

delighted, these filled me with profound sorrow. Germany, the kernel, the heart of Europe, is again in danger, through all sorts of zealots, of falling again into religious and political feuds, regardless of the awful era of the thirty years' war, and the cupidity of eastern and western neighbours. Instead of the motto of all confederated states, *Vis unita fortior* — unity gives strength—the contrary principle seems to be every where springing up and made the rule of conduct to the ruin of Germany.

That confederation, on which the most confiding and the best disposed Germans placed their hope, is losing all cohesive force. It says to the members that have been ill for years, and earnestly soliciting medicine and assistance: Your disorder is a local one, and concerns the whole body very little or not at all. But, if these neglected members, thus left to themselves, should at last lose their patience and temper, the cry will be: Revolution! revolution! But, who will then have caused this revolution, and on whom must the blame of it fall?

LETTER CXX.

General Survey of Italy—The Arts—Sciences—Music.

Verona, September 6th.

Your remark, that my communications relative to Italy are more desultory and detached than those

on England, is quite correct. But is not this partly owing to the subjects and circumstances, which show great diversity, and can scarcely be brought under one point of view, or combined into one picture? On this and many other accounts, one might more easily place together and compare Germany and Italy, than (as Archenholz did) England and Italy. The task, indeed, is attractive and instructive; were it not on the other hand extremely difficult, and in so far ungrateful, that neither party would be satisfied with the results, whether prais e or censure.

After I have seen, and by the aid of others learned so much in Italy, I feel a necessity for following up individual remarks and statements with a general survey, in order to sift, if possible, the impressions of the moment, that the more general objective truth may be brought to light. But, in preparing to indulge this inclination, I am met by the just apprehension that in this way more may be easily lost than gained. For the individual impression, the momentary feeling, have at least conditional truth and value; but if you suffer yourself to be led by these impressions, these feelings, to set up general opinions and decisions, that conditional truth invariably disappears before you can exchange it for a higher. And who is there that possesses so much knowledge and penetration as to venture to judge a great country and people in all

its relations, connexions, and doings, and to acquit or condemn?

Notwithstanding these weighty objections, I cannot refrain from looking back at my Italian tour, and again entering upon a brief consideration of individual points. If, in the following fragments, I express myself perhaps more keenly and decidedly than is fitting, it must be considered that mawkish forms of politeness, which so readily present themselves, only make the matter longer and more tedious. Besides, all that I say is a mere personal opinion, at the beginning and end of which is written: *Salvo meliori.*

As a proof how easy it is to fall into the fault of the too much or too little, I prefix two opposite conclusions respecting Italy. A writer of the northern Alps says:—"All her glory has departed, and flown beyond the Alps; Italy has nothing left of her own but sheer misery." To this a Neapolitan replies:—"He is ill-advised who seeks to deprive Italy of her ancient and merited glory; she has been in all ages the mistress (*maestra*) of nations." Whoever proves too much, proves nothing: I trust that I shall not be in this predicament.

Not to gain the applause of the Italians, or as a *captatio benevolentiæ*, but from a sense of truth, I admit that, every thing considered, the individual Italian, as such, and even without any scholastic

cultivation, is more intelligent, and, when he likes, more may be made of him than in general of any individual person of any other nation; I admit that the history of Italy is older, and down to the 16th century richer and more multifarious than that of any other country of Europe. But this very truth, this very admiration increases, on the other hand, the measure of demands and the severity of the judgment. It is not from hatred and aversion, but from sympathy and fondness, that the dislike and censure of much that is Italian arise, and the greater and more worthy the subject, the more unworthy are flattery and indulgence.*

The question has often occurred to me, when in Italy, whether the luck of having a long and glorious history may not be a misfortune to a people. The living generation then sums up all the deeds of its ancestors, exults in them, contents itself with relating and boasting of them, without augmenting by its own energy and industry the treasures which it has inherited. A young people, on the contrary, cannot fill up its time with the examination and analysis of the past; its views are rather directed to the future; it concerns not itself about old inheritances, but about new deeds. It is not till we assign its own to every generation, that merit, worth,

* Nobody can wish more sincerely than myself that the censure pronounced by me, according to the best of my knowledge and my conscience, may be founded only on error.

improvement or deterioration, become apparent; without this rigorous and often painful examination nations of some antiquity do not arrive at a correct knowledge of themselves, but trick themselves out in borrowed feathers.

In modern times it has become too much the fashion to seek the glory of a nation exclusively in one direction; though every nation has its peculiar nature and its peculiar glory. Whoever takes an interest only in war, or only in trade, or only in manufacture, whether of cottons or constitutions, may, possibly, like the writer quoted above, perceive in Italy nothing but misery. To me, on the contrary, it appears as if an apish dabbling in foreign matters had already done more harm to the country than if it had strictly adhered to its own nature.

As a proof how much Italy has done for the arts and sciences during the last hundred years, the Italians adduce numberless names which have scarcely ever been heard of beyond the Alps. They may have served for the substructure, but if out of a hundred a few only diffuse light for ages, their value, after the others are taken away, is, like that of the Sibylline books, not diminished, but increased. The consideration becomes more grave, when we compare generation with generation, century with century. Then the immoderate praise which is but too often awarded in Italy for various reasons on that which is almost beneath mediocrity shrinks

exceedingly, and extravagant applause has the same effect upon artists and authors as excessive watering upon plants—both rot. I will not commend the contrary mode of proceeding, which prevails in Germany, and deters or crushes many a one; but the more rigid method is the better touchstone of minds and their real energies.

Does there then appear to be any advance in Italy, it may be asked, when we compare Filangieri with Thomas of Aquino, Genovefi with Jordano Bruno, Camuccini with Raphael, &c.? But why, replies the Italian, institute so unfavourable a comparison? Why not rather bring forward the names of Canova, Volta, Galvani, Piazzi, Muratori, Manzoni, and others, whom our age can fearlessly place in competition with past ages and other nations? It is, therefore, better to avoid such individual comparisons, more especially as we may be and are authorized to assert that the Almighty, in his grace, creates such geniuses, or withholds them at pleasure, and that individuals and the nation are not called to any account on that score.

But there are other directions in which individuals and the nation cannot thus wash their hands in innocence, but are justly culpable and responsible: for instance, and this is an important point, in regard to music. The sublimest, the holiest side of this most influential of all arts, is almost lost in Italy, and the most egregious, the most indecorous

frivolity has usurped its place. Dramatic music is transformed into mere pastime for tickling the ear, nay, it is boasted of as an advance towards true liberty, that text and music pay no sort of regard to each other, and that the art must forego its inconvenient claims and demands, or regulate them according to the will and pleasure of the hearers. The conviction that a work of art is the sublimest, the most enduring, creation of the human mind, and that it requires all the powers of the spectator and hearer thoroughly to comprehend and to appropriate it to themselves—this conviction is almost universally reputed to be a troublesome superstition, which every one has a right, nay, which it is every one's duty, to shake off. Let the day provide for the day, and live by the day—such is the universal principle, and upon it the present operas are composed. There needs no evidence to prove that in this way the art must inevitably soon fall to decay, nay, that this decay has already commenced. A comparison of the list of performances in the German and Italian theatres will evidently show that with us the most valuable dramatic and musical works of all, or at least of many ages and nations, are understood and appreciated, while in Italy the native summer plants of last year alone are brought forward for exhibition.

LETTER CXXI.

Italy — Family Life — Cicisbeism — Foundling Hospitals — Army—Spirit of modern Catholicism—Classes—Constitutions.

Münich, September 40th.

THE people and the state are composed of families. If these, if the family life, be not healthy, be not morally and christianly conducted, the basis of all that is great and general, nay, the very essence of life itself, are wanting. I know that I am now upon ticklish ground, where accurate and complete knowledge is impossible, and false opinions are so frequent. But in so far as this incompleteness of knowledge recurs in judging of all nations, the measure of truth and error preserves a kind of equilibrium, and a difference, for instance, between the English and Italian family life, between English and Italian women, strikes every observer. I shall, however, confine myself to some more general phenomena.

Cicisbeism, say many Italians, still subsists as formerly. It subsists no longer, rejoin others. It still subsists, but under different forms, asserts a third party. It is not for me to settle the dispute, but I may venture to maintain that cicisbeism, lightly considered, is a caricature, and, gravely viewed, a repulsive scandal. It is much easier to comprehend or to excuse a single transgression,

committed under the impulse of passion, than this cold order, this sober annoyance, this deplorable waste of time, this unmanly slavery.

Lawful marriage permits, nay, desires, that friends of both sexes may associate with the wedded pair, and bring about a transition from home to larger circles; but this monopoly granted to *one*, this *feminæ adscriptio*, this unmanning of the husband and the cicisbeo, is the most lamentable invention and practice that the history of family life has to exhibit. Assuming, however, that it is abolished or approaching its end, another evil is springing up with redoubled vigour.

I know nothing on earth that excites such horror, such heart-rending compassion, as the exposure of many thousands of children. What, with indignation kindled afresh in every province, in every city, of Italy, I have so often felt myself compelled to write on this subject I will not here repeat, but only express the conviction that herein is manifested a frightful degeneracy of human nature, the complete correction of which is the first and most indispensable condition of a regeneration of Italy. People cry out for constitutions, chambers, electors, representatives, and the like, as though this artificial structure of social combinations could shoot up into the air, without fathers, mothers, children, brothers, sisters, and family life.

It is asserted, and not without reason, that many

states have been ruined chiefly by their expensive military establishment, by their too numerous standing armies. Italy is suffering under this evil in a fourfold form. In the first place, the soldiers, as in other countries; secondly, the beggars; thirdly, the foundlings; fourthly, the unmarried ecclesiastics and monks.* I took the part of the latter at a time when it was not the fashion to praise them or to found convents; but it is possible to have too much even of what is good, and it would be easy to prove that every thing of this kind in Italy is not good and salutary, if I could here enter into such prolix inquiries, or upon the whole any proof were necessary.

Still less can I notice the most important question, discussed for centuries, and answered in different ways, on the influence of the christian confessions upon states and nations. Each party claims the light side for itself, and assigns the dark one to the others; and yet there is no shade but where there is light. Whoever steadily maintains his ground within the limits of one party is a good champion, but not a good observer and historian, on whom it is incumbent to view things from a more comprehensive point, and, as it is also the duty of a dramatic poet, to transform himself, as it were, into several persons.

* Satirical persons assert that the recommendation of foundling hospitals by the clergy has the closest connexion with their celibacy.

A few remarks may here suffice. Besides the true, genuine, I might say ideal, Catholic, two shoots or excrescences have sprung up in Italy on different sides. The multitude, especially in the south of Italy, cherishes many a superstition, which, only under different names and forms, leads back to downright paganism, and translates the position, "God is a spirit," into the axiom, "God is a body." Neither clergy nor governments take any pains to establish a higher spiritualism; partly because they are strangers to it themselves, partly because it is not suited to the people, and superstition itself is a medium for governing with the greater ease.

A second party, developing itself chiefly in the higher classes, seems to adopt all the doctrines and practices of the church, to follow them without opposition, or even to validate them, from interested motives; while, in reality, the profounder doctrines of the christian faith are incomprehensible or indifferent to it. It agrees, for the sake of outward peace, with the church, but, transplanted to the palace of truth, would rather vote for canonizing Voltaire than Thomas of Aquino.

Hence arises the question, whether Italy has not lost more than she has gained by the suppression of all movements tending to reform. Independently of the greater worth or worthlessness of confessions and occurrences, the prodigious intellectual labours which whole nations have for several successive

generations imposed on themselves, have not been fruitless; in spite of all excrescences, and even crimes, they have defended from barren indifference, supercilious indolence, and thoughtless lassitude. Religion is, in the last place, most assuredly a gift that comes from above; but men show a difference in the way in which they prepare themselves for its reception, and in which, after its reception, they treat and employ the gift. Where, as in Italy in general, religion is offered and accepted as something ready-made and finished, and the spiritual custom-house authorities establish a system of rigid exclusion, there certainly takes place no fermentation of doubt, but likewise no higher illumination, as in Paul and Augustine. Thinking and knowing, that noblest occupation of man, ought to be associated with faith; nations which have been content with one half, have fallen into error and been left behind in the career of development. What I am here alluding to might perhaps be still more clearly shown and demonstrated from the history of Spain than from that of Italy.

I shall take leave to add here another remark. People with little, or little cultivated, individuality, may become for ever subordinate through the influence of superior nations; people who are intellectually rich and cultivated are wrong, on the other hand, to shun or to despise foreigners. This dislike of exertion, or this presumptuous self-conceit,

is invariably in the end its own punishment. It is certainly a symptom of improvement that the Italians no longer deem all beyond the Alps barbarians, but at length begin to travel and to learn foreign languages. The German language and literature, however, are still greatly neglected; hence a thousand misconceptions almost inevitably arise, and just in those things where a correct notion of the spirit and nature of both nations must have so salutary an effect. For most Italians an Austrian civilian or lieutenant is the mould in which they conceive all Germans to have been cast: and they deem this a sufficient ground for contempt and contumely. North Germany, Protestant Germany, is to most an absolute *terra incognita*, or reputed to be the seat of innumerable abominations. And yet it may be affirmed that the Italians would harmonize more readily with the north Germans than with the Austrians. Most certainly then, it would be an inquiry equally important and instructive, why those despised Austrians rule in Italy, and rule better than do the much cleverer Italians in most provinces. The result would perhaps be, that many kinds of cleverness are just the reverse of true wisdom.

Our youth, said a highly-celebrated Italian to me, study but do not work; they know and honour only the wisdom and the opinion of the journals. In this case, the false enthusiasm, sometimes arising

from a misconception of the great Greeks and Romans, would be far better than that which proceeds from an idolatrous worship of Italian, and still more of French, journals.

As far as personal talent, superiority of individuality, is concerned, the Italians have often led the way; but precisely this knowledge and sense of superiority in individuals renders them unfit to unite with others, or to act a subordinate part. This assertion seems to be contradicted by the former strong predilection of the Italians for civic, municipal, institutions; but was not then that which decided, impelled, held together, something strictly individual, only of a more comprehensive kind, for instance, the higher or inferior nobility, the richer or poor citizens, &c.? The mutual position and co-ordination of several classes, the intermixture of ecclesiastical, monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements, have never been impartially appreciated; efforts were always directed solely to the end of obtaining a decided superiority for the one or the other, and these efforts were but too often successful.

In more recent times, the monarchical principle has gained a decided preponderance, and the republican addition made to it is in general but a shadow without essence or importance. Few governments comprehend that it is easier and better to govern where well regulated corporations exist, than where one has to do with disconnected individuals, with irregular atoms.

Are then the component parts now in existence out of which forms of constitutions might be constructed? Undoubtedly, as soon as one sets to work the arithmetic, in this case very unsatisfactory, with unknown numbers or mere quantities. The matter appears more difficult, as soon as one thinks of living qualities or endeavours to associate these with the quantities.

In the first place, there is scarcely any where an independent peasantry, possessing property. Too free above, too oppressed below — hence proceeds stuff for revolution, not for quiet development. Elected representatives of free peasants, such as sit, for instance, in the diets in the Prussian dominions, are impossible in Italy, nay, means are wanting to prevent the ruin of the class of peasants, which is possible enough according to the laws.* Here we arrive again at that equally important and dangerous question, how far the state can, nay ought to, avert the dangers of an unconditional private right, and to sanctify and glorify it.

In the class of burghers we find in many provinces mere individuals, as though freedom of trade and the suppression of the old abuses of corporations were incompatible with all community and efficient communal regulations.

* In Prussia, too, the question is not yet solved by law, how an efficient peasantry is to be combined and reconciled with the natural and irresistible advances of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, &c.

The nobility is still further, perhaps, from answering its idea. Excessively wealthy or decayed; almost invariably inactive. The simplest, noblest, and most natural occupation, agriculture, which in England and Germany preserves and raises the nobility, is despised in Italy. As rarely are the great disposed to enter into the service of the state, and art and science are not every one's forte. But too many Italians seek liberty externally, whereas it ought to be found from within. It proceeds from exertion and self-denial, not from inactivity and indulgence; and in this respect the Italian people are superior to most of the members of the aristocracy of the country.

The German nobles, to whom it was impossible to lead an active country life, mostly chose, according to ancient custom, the military profession: an outlet which is more rarely offered to the Italian nobles, and much oftener rejected. Without dwelling here on the well-known evils of an immoderate military tendency, I may remark that military discipline imparts a firmness and a law which a life of idleness has not, and which an individual seldom imposes upon himself. Then, too, the peaceful years of indulgence were succeeded by the graver season of war, which put aside the spirit of frivolity, and furnished occasion for the exercise of genuine virtue. One may well doubt whether it was and is better for the individual and for all, for personal

development, and for the stamina and vital energy of the whole nation, that the younger branches of the Italian nobility should voluntarily enter, or be sent to, the convent. Among a people thoroughly brave and fond of war, (for instance the French) the practice of substitutes in the army will not be detrimental to the military spirit; but, in Italy, especially in the south, an education in this way needful for all, and which in Prussia has essentially raised military courage and military talent, is wanting.

LETTER CXXII.

Italy—Survey of the individual States—Sicily—Naples.

Münich, September 12th.

If the observations contained in my last two letters are placed beside those thrown out here and there in former ones, they will perhaps serve to fill up many a chasm. Having touched upon some general Italian matters, it may not be amiss to review once more the individual states, to remind you of their peculiarities, and of their present existence or non-existence.

If we begin with the south, with Sicily, we shall find that the inhabitants are to be charged rather with too great than too little love of country. This, however, tends in no respect to diminish the per-

ception of the defects of the present, or the feeling of them; on the contrary, it causes people to place the poetic glory of the past in a doubly bright light, and to lay the chief blame of the darkness of later times on the Neapolitan government. To prove to what unjust lengths suspicion and obloquy have extended, I need only mention that many gave full credit to the rumour that the government had purposely transplanted the cholera to Sicily, out of revenge, and to punish the inhabitants.

Let us, however, set this abortion of fear and passion wholly aside, we shall meet with manifold constructions of present circumstances, which prove bitter animosity. If the government, say very many, would not exactly poison the inhabitants, yet it is evident that it would fain plunge them into poverty and misery, that it would ruin them in an unprecedented manner, in order that distress may produce blind submission, or despair drive to insurrection, and afford a pretext for the utmost stretch of arbitrary tyranny. The government, add others, will, without knowing it, be strengthened in these atrocious measures by the Carbonari, who still keep their ground in the Neapolitan dominions. During periods of former danger, Sicily was a safe retreat for the sovereign, a *point d'appui*, from which Naples might always be recovered. If, on the contrary, Sicily is estranged from its rulers, and driven into enmity and insurrection, the Neapo-

litan revolutionists have nothing behind them to fear, and have double strength for the execution of their plans. They wish Sicily to make the beginning, that they may follow with more convenience and safety. With all these notions are combined hopes or dreams of complete independence, of European revolutions, of English assistance, nay, with some, of English sovereignty—which, in fact, might perhaps furnish the readiest means of meliorating the state of the unfortunate island.

Ireland, the English Sicily, might be startled at such ideas; but there peculiar causes of misgovernment exist, and the futurity of Sicily is far more hopeless than that of Ireland. The more I reflect upon this subject with profound sympathy, the more I am puzzled. So total a transformation and regeneration as Sicily needs are utterly impossible. The country people and the town people, the clergy and the nobility, the monastic system, the administration, and the constitution, must all be changed, renewed throughout, and pass through a purifying fire, a purgatory, which each awards to the other, without being willing to undergo it himself.

The most incomprehensible party, and at the same time the most to blame, is the government, as I have already shown by some of the most striking proofs out of a great many. The latest history of Europe presents abundance of examples of inconvenient, stupid, criminal, forms of government, and

has led many to seek relief in a good administration alone. But whoever wishes to learn what distress, what ruin ensue, when the forms of the constitution are one and all arbitrarily thrown aside and a perverse, selfish bureaucracy seats itself upon the throne —let him go to Sicily. Not that there is an absolute lack of intelligent and disinterested functionaries of praiseworthy and useful measures; but one must be more than a Hercules to cleanse this Augean stable.

If people submit to all this, if they are not driven to the extremity of resistance, it is not owing to attachment, confidence, piety, conscience, but fear lest the Sicilian populace, when once let loose, might keep no bounds in their vengeance, but plunder and murder even those who should have set them in motion against the detested Neapolitans. Such is the state of things and of the guarantees of the social relations in Sicily, according to the admission of Sicilians themselves.

In Naples, owing to the more cheerful, light-hearted disposition of the people, things do not wear so grave an aspect; and then these are the rulers and the leaders of the *ton* in regard to the Sicilians. But that even here there is to be found scarcely one who loves, respects, and defends the government, is so painful and so alarming to the sympathizing observer, that it requires all the exuberant riches of wonderfully beautiful nature to

make him forget them at least for a few hours. The contrast between that which is given by God and that which is the work of man is then doubly glaring, and sounds like an undissolved discord amidst the harmony of nature.

There is, nevertheless, a remarkable difference between the ways in which things are viewed by the older and the younger Neapolitans. The former were once persecuted, suffered from several revolutions, long for repose, and are thankful to the government if this is insured to them even by censurable means. The younger, on the other hand, know nothing of older times from immediate experience, deem it no merit in the government that it abstains from persecution, are of opinion that the attempts at improvement were set about in a foolish manner, and live in the conviction that they should have managed every thing more cleverly and successfully, that at any rate the probable gain would be greater than the loss to be apprehended. This party is daily increasing, while the former is diminishing. Placed between the two, the government pursues no decisive course, aims at no precise object, and imagines that by means of the police (which is always but negative, and operates only upon individuals) it can preserve and restore the health of the whole. There is so much that is incoherent, incongruous, contradictory, in the laws and their application, that it is very difficult or

rather impossible to find out the why and the wherefore. To this is to be added (as it is asserted) an unhappy shyness of the government of distinguished talents. Burke was quite right when he observed that mere talent inclines toward Jacobinism. But instead of exercising and clarifying it by practical activity, it is almost invariably thrust back and nearly driven into discontent. This dislike of superior intellect, this preference of shallow mediocrity, operates the more mischievously, since there is in Naples by no means any lack of eminent and accomplished men. But from the point to which they are confined, many merely exchange enthusiasm for passion, and fancy that, with their natural levity, firmness and character may well be dispensed with. And yet the history of Naples itself most clearly shows that without these neither individuals nor nations can accomplish any great object.

If in Sicily revolutionary explosions are repressed through fear of the native populace, to this fear is added in Naples that of the Austrians. "In the whole history of the world," said a Neapolitan to me, "there is nothing greater, wiser, more temperate, more admirable, than—the Neapolitan revolution of 1820. This miraculous work the Austrians destroyed." But even those who regard this so-called miraculous work as a piece of insanity, do not thank the Austrians for destroying it. Above all, the government is ashamed of its weakness, and

that it was supported and reinstated by foreign force alone. Most certainly the Austrians will not suffer any focus of insurrection, any revolutionary constitutions, in South Italy; but it is unreasonable to assert that they promoted, that they adopted, senseless measures, which are the reverse of those so laudably carried into effect by them in the kingdom of Lombardy? Thus, for instance, the mischievous disposition to centralize and to fashion Naples and Sicily after one pattern, is precisely contrary to the course pursued by the Austrian government in its dominions.

"It is totally out of our power," said an Austrian, holding a high official situation to me, "to exercise any salutary influence in Naples: the government would pay more attention to the suggestions of the Bey of Tunis than to our's."—In this way it fancies that it displays independence, and at the same time employs the bugbear of the Austrians against its subjects, discontented, unfortunately not without reason.

LETTER CXXIII.

States of the Church — Tuscany — Piedmont.

Münich, September 13th.

Of no state is it so difficult to form an opinion as of the Roman, because the temporal and spiritual

authorities are so intermixed, and praise and censure are pronounced from the most different points of view; but censure in such preponderating measure, that one is doubtful whether it is founded on general truth or general prejudices. In the first place, not a few reject all and every spiritual authority, so that the most exemplary government of a pope would find no favour in their sight because he is a spiritual prince. Here the first question that forces itself upon us is, whether Rome would not be a great loser if it were only a temporal city, and no longer the centre of Catholic christendom, or if the pope were rendered subordinate to a temporal ruler. Assuredly the pope is essentially upheld by his ecclesiastical position and by foreign protection. If an insurmountable wall were raised around the States of the Church, the great majority of the inhabitants, especially in the Legations, would declare against the papal government and forthwith put an end to it. This state of things, to whatever cause it may be owing, is a most deplorable one, and how it is to be remedied is a subject that requires the gravest and profoundest investigation. For it is scarcely to be conceived that the government can long continue to go on in its own strength in the same manner as it has hitherto done.

If one cheerfully concedes to the spiritual element the full and preponderating right in the States of the Church, still one cannot suppress the weighty

doubt, whether it is absolutely necessary to place the administration in all its branches in the hands of ecclesiastics. Salutary it certainly is not, any more than in one of the military states, as they are called, to fill offices without exception with military men. Might it not be possible to retain the spiritual and ecclesiastical character in all essential points, and at the same time to comply with many, by no means unreasonable, demands of the laity, and thus restore that content which unfortunately is now wanting?

It is true that, besides personal changes, many must be made in things, not to arrive at an arbitrary and revolutionary result, but at a result really suitable to the times. The popes of later times have certainly not been deficient in good-will, and their history is more pure, more commendable, than that of many of their predecessors in former periods; but history has too often proved, and in this case also, that good-will does not comprise in itself the true art of government. The papal government ought, in ecclesiastical as well as temporal respect, to stand at the head of universal development. Whether it is truly so in the former case is a point on which, as it is well known, opinions differ; the pre-eminence in the latter, on the other hand, nobody ventures to claim for it.

Though the loud censure of the jurisprudence, the financial system, the course of business, the

official appointments, may be, after the fashion of the present day exaggerated, still it is certainly not wholly unfounded, and a sweeping denial is less advisable than a prudent melioration. Unfortunately, petty trials occasionally lead to the inference of great want of tact, and manifest a misconception of the times into which Gregory VII. and Innocent III. would not have fallen. In proud confidence in themselves, they would not have scrupled to expose their lives, writings, and deeds, openly to the world, and to present them to universal history; trusting to the rock upon which the church is founded, if they had not ascribed great importance to little persons and little things, or treated the study of nature as dangerous to religion. An insight into older and later errors, confession of faults, communication of every thing historical, would rather strengthen than injure the papacy. For, by this very course, that which is defective separates itself, falls to the ground, and loses its importance; while that which is good and right appears in a brighter and more vigorous form. Whoever denies this is, in reality, a renegade from Catholicism; he despairs of the church and the state of the church, and leaves both to perish, without belief in their right, power, and incessant regeneration. The too active, as well as the wholly inactive votaries of ecclesiastical authority, play alike into the hands of their enemies.

As you enter Tuscany, every thing assumes a

more cheerful, contented aspect. The noble views, useful activity, paternal beneficence of the grand-duke are universally acknowledged, and with this acknowledgment is happily associated personal attachment, without which every connexion between sovereign and subjects is defective and heartless. The country appears like a fortunate island, which has indeed been visited by the severest hurricanes, but is physically and morally protected from all minor tempests. Every where are displayed a harmony, a union, a concordance, a noble moderation, which frequently reminded me of Xenophon. But Xenophon represents only one side of Hellenism, and stands on the most perilous limit where one easily sinks below the due measure, and enviable mediocrity is transformed into weakness. Owing to many little obstacles and impediments, every thing in Tuscany does not advance so much as might be wished. The once so boisterous natures are become, one may say, too tame, and that steeled character, that force of inspiration, which once called forth such men as Dante and Michael Angelo, seem to be wanting.

It is otherwise in Piedmont. The Piedmontese, said a Neapolitan to me, are no Italians; certainly they are no Neapolitans. One is surprised at the energy of their character, their extraordinary industry, the earnestness of literary inquiry, the regularity in the economy of the state, the efficiency

of the army, the freshness of the people. Nothing decayed, superannuated, no mere past, but a present and a future also.

Sardinia, in particular, has been called in a praiseworthy manner to new and infallible advances through the wisdom of the king and the activity of Count Villa Marina; while the rulers of Sicily, before so ill, are hurrying her by all sorts of blunders to absolute death.

The greater the interest and pleasure with which the observer remarks those advances, the more he must wish that two dangers which threaten from opposite sides may be obviated. It is to be hoped that the Sardinian government may not suffer itself, out of just aversion to unchristian ungodliness, to be seduced to see the christian only in certain forms and tendencies, which, kept under curb and rein, have to be sure a natural existence and a certain worth, but which, placed legislatively and despotically at the head, subjugate the state, check the development of nations, and recognize no other standard, no other direction for present and future, than the past, and this only in so far as it just pleases and ensures advantages to them.

A strong aversion, nay, bitter hatred to this danger leads to the vicinity of another. Though, namely, the disposition to French notions and objects has, for many reasons, greatly decreased, yet some still forget the maxim, *Timeo Danaos dona*

ferentes — and others, through constant occupation with French literature, contract notions which have often proved injurious to the French themselves, and are not at all suited to other nations. Increasing acquaintance with German and English literature will, it is to be hoped, restore the equilibrium, and the peculiar national development will then proceed with greater freedom.

LETTER CXXIV.

Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom—Unity of Italy—Revolutions —Advances—Hopes and Wishes.

Münich, September 16th.

If the opinions of the Italians on many Italian governments are severe, there is a further great and peculiar cause of discontent in regard to the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. I shall state the charges in their gravest form. — The Austrians (so say the most zealous) are odious foreigners, who are endeavouring to debase the national character by vile means (*espionnage*, secret police, &c.) in order to confirm their dominion; who raise the most unworthy to the highest posts, and force every clever Italian to withdraw from public life. To such no choice is left but degradation or death.

Such are the most violent charges expressed in the strongest terms. Before I enter upon any investi-

gation of them, I must remark that, in four visits to Lombardy, I have every time found that the number and vehemence of the complainants had decreased, till very lately an equally clever and zealous Italian said to me in full earnest: "The Austrian government is so excellent in every respect that we have nothing whatever to complain of. But this is a great misfortune, because it deprives us of all motives and means for setting the multitude in motion, and bringing about a new era."

Let us now proceed to the consideration of details, with that conscientiousness which such important subjects and such strong contrasts require. The house of Austria, it is true, is not of Italian, any more than of Hungarian or Bohemian origin, any more than the Russian reigning family originally belonged to Russia, the Swedish to Sweden, the English to England, the Prussian to Prussia, the Spanish to Spain, the Neapolitan to Naples. From such numerous and remarkable phenomena one might perhaps infer a more profound law, or discover in them a higher dispensation, by which the interests of various nations are adjusted, prejudices removed, fresh life infused. Moreover, the Austrian rule in Italy has not arisen solely from arbitrary will and violence; it has added antiquity to ancient right; it has not, by any means, inundated the country with Germans, or ever aimed at forcing the Italians into other forms. On the other hand, it may be urged

that the complaints of the Lombards have no reference to the descent of the reigning house, but to this point, that it has not become completely nationalized, completely indigenous, as is the case with the Hapsburgers in Florence, and the Bourbons in Naples. Hence Milan continues to be but a subordinate centre, while Europe (to mention only one circumstance) sends ambassadors to Florence.

In the last place, these complaints set up this principle, that the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom ought not to be regarded as a member of a greater whole, but to obtain a totally separate existence, a perfect independence. It is certainly a subject for the gravest consideration of the Austrian government, whether and how far it can comply with these natural wishes, and anticipate still more the other Italian governments in regard to real, praiseworthy liberality (for instance in the matter of the censorship). The demand that it should abdicate the sovereignty and resign it into the hands of I know not whom, is, however, unjust, incapable of execution, and of such a nature that the requisitionists (placed themselves in similar circumstances) would never comply with it. Most assuredly, that wished-for independence did not in any way exist at the time of the French rule in Italy; and many measures, censured as ambiguous or cruel, resorted to by the Austrians in sheer self-defence, have been thrown aside (as in

the case of the amnesty just granted) as soon as they ceased to be absolutely necessary.

The assertion that Austria aims at debasing the national character is, (independently of its intrinsic absurdity and injustice) directly contradicted by her efforts for improving the system of public instruction, and the universal attestations of the excellence of her mode of government. If the Austrian government is not at this moment the best and the most liberal in all Italy, is it not better than that of ancient Rome over conquered nations, than the English in Ireland, and the Russian in Poland?

This, I may be told, is a very slender consolation, and a bad native government is, undoubtedly, preferable to a good government by foreigners. But in this case there is at least a prospect that this foreign government may be gradually transformed into a native one, because the Austrians are enemies of all centralization, and disposed to appoint natives in every country under their sway.

The hope of effecting by violence, by great revolutions, a salutary transformation of one's country is brilliant, indeed, but generally illusory. He pursues the less specious but safer and more commendable course, who commences the regeneration with himself, and relinquishes the mischievous notion that the force of circumstances compels him to renounce his duties, because they are not to be ful-

filled in the form of the glorious. If the young nobility of Milan should deem it more dignified to ride about, to carry on love-intrigues, to lounge in theatres, and to rail against the government in coffee-houses, than to employ, to exert, to train themselves in subordinate spheres for higher ones, it would be they who (in opposition to the wishes of Austria) would undermine their own and the national character, and render a regeneration of Italy more and more impossible.

The idea, so frequently expressed, that this regeneration of Italy consists in its formation into one state, in a Frenchified centralization, with a ruling capital, and the new-fangled glory of journals and pamphlets *—this idea is unpractical, impracticable, ruinous. To advert to one point only: the principal cities, each of which has so much to advance in its own behalf, would never acknowledge the supremacy of the one that might be selected; the favoured city would perish by inflammatory fever, and the others by consumption; and the great, the exclusive richness of Italian development would wholly disappear. How absurd, how anti-national, this plan, abstractedly so specious, really is, has recently been proved by the unfortunate experiment made in

* I am by no means disposed, on account of the abuse of journals, to depreciate the real merits of journalists; but the salvation of the world will not proceed pre-eminently from that quarter.

only two divisions of the same kingdom, Naples, and Sicily. The idea of a unity of Italy must, therefore, be much more profoundly conceived, and much more judiciously executed; or the new defects that would not fail to break forth would be at least as great as the old ones which it were so desirable to remedy.

True it is that revolutions proceed not from the dark side alone of the human mind. There have been revolutions which have broken fetters and emancipated mind, and which have not established, but abolished, injustice and violence. Wherein, then, is the difference between condemnable and salutary revolutions? It consists in this, that in the latter presides the spirit of God, and this is no other than the spirit of love. Without this distinctive mark, this touchstone, men give themselves up only to the illusions of the devil.

Every thing considered, Italy has certainly made great advances in many points, in comparison with the seventeenth century, yet much is still to be desired — perhaps, in spite of the apparently hostile antithesis, much that is German. Assuredly, no worn-out ideal state, but one general connecting national feeling, and a love of country which fears not to die for it; no arithmetical normal constitution, but truly efficient deliberations in every part of the country; no atomical citizenship, but increase of wisdom and energy by corporate institutions;

no populace crushed by poverty, or enjoined to beg, but a broad, domestic, contented basis of the whole; no foundling-hospitals, but schools; no indolent nobility, but exertion, rising with more elevated position; no intolerant priesthood, but free development in different, but at last harmoniously converging, directions; no fear of science, no taxation of the intellectual, but only counteraction of the manifestly irreligious and immoral; no separation of material interests, but abolition of barricades and lines of custom-houses; no passion without character and wisdom; no religious creed without showing its effect on life and conduct.

All this, if not already happily accomplished in individual provinces, the sovereigns and people of Italy may effect, in order to open a new and glorious career, if they but set about it in good earnest. If they will not, the tones of their ancient glory may not wholly die away, but sooner or later their rulers must fall, and the Italians be outstripped by those nations which do not bury, overrate, or squander their talent, but gratefully employ and increase it by industry of every kind.

THE END.

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